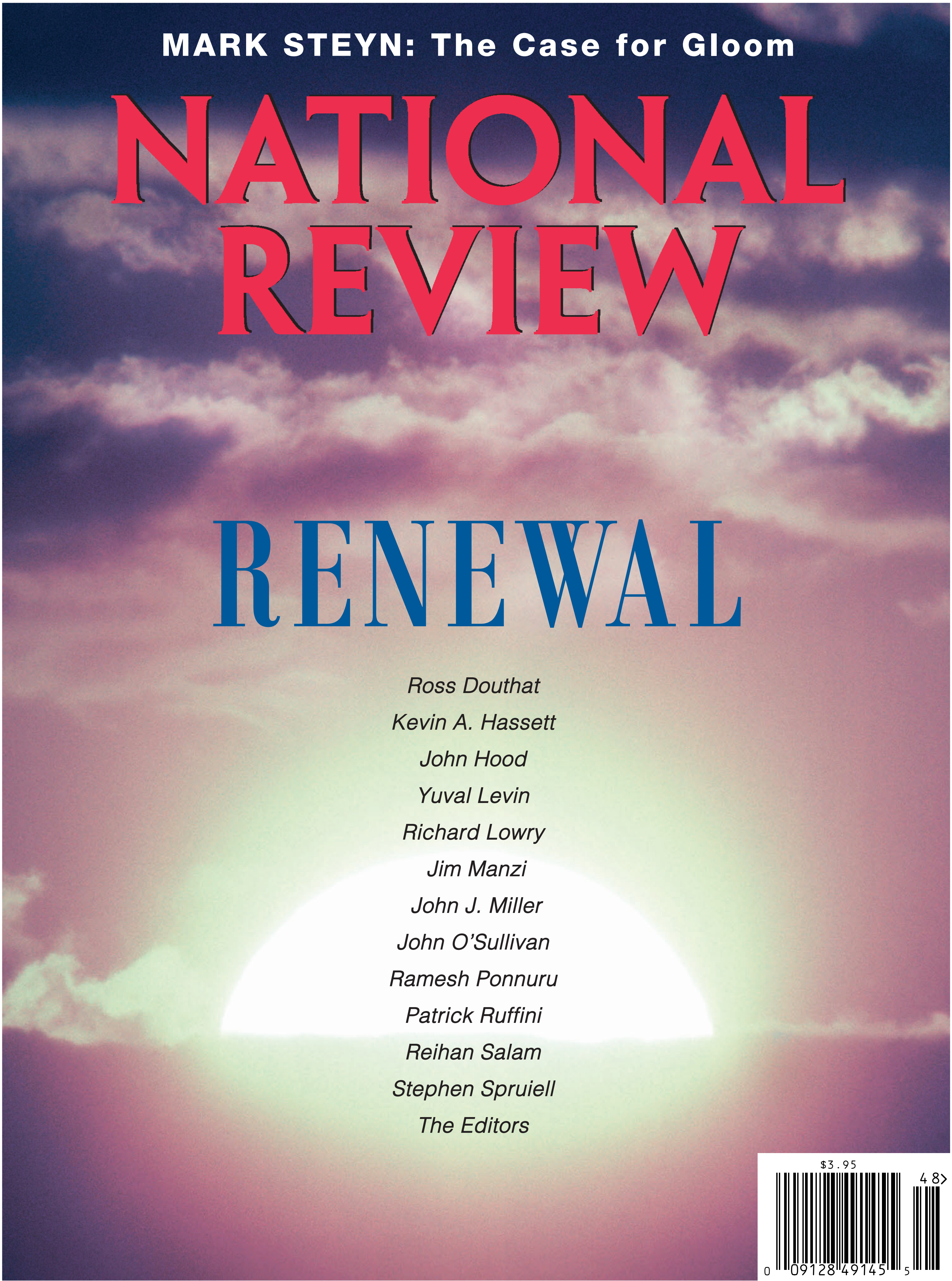
December 1, 2008 49145 $3.95

MARK STEYN: The Case for Gloom

NATIONAL REVIEW



RENEWAL

Ross Douthat
Kevin A. Hassett
John Hood
Yuval Levin
Richard Lowry
Jim Manzi
John J. Miller
John O'Sullivan
Ramesh Ponnuru
Patrick Ruffini
Reihan Salam
Stephen Spruiell
The Editors

$3.95
48>
0 09128 49145 5

www.nationalreview.com

CLEAN COAL: AMERICA'S ENERGY FUTURE

COAL
Flip a switch.
Play a tune.
70°
Warm your home.
R 1 3 5
2 4
Fuel your car.

Yeah... coal can do that.

Coal fuels half of America's electricity at just a fraction of the cost of natural gas. America has the largest coal reserves in the world, and greater use of coal can reduce our reliance on expensive oil and natural gas imports. New coal-fueled generating plants with 21st Century technologies are essential for building energy security, preventing an electricity crisis and improving the environment.

Peabody Energy (NYSE: BTU) is the world's largest coal company and the global leader in clean coal solutions.

CoalCanDoThat.com

Peabody

DECEMBER 1, 2008 VOL. LX, NO. 22

NATIONAL REVIEW

www.nationalreview.com

SPECIAL POST-ELECTION ISSUE

Not Dead Yet

Page 42

The lesson for the GOP is encouraging. Though all voters will take time to forget their recent disappointing record, Republicans can reasonably hope to win back most of those they have lost this year as memories fade and fresher Democratic failures replace them. *By John O'Sullivan*

ARTICLES

20 Why McCain Lost *by Ramesh Ponnuru*
The Republican nominee played his bad hand badly.

22 In the Snake Pit *by Richard Lowry*
The sad end of the McCain campaign.

26 Sarah *Resartus* *by Ross Douthat*
Tailoring Palin for the future.

30 Back to Basics, Ahead to Particulars *by Yuval Levin*
Reflect on your beliefs, then explain their relevance.

32 Beyond Tax Cuts *by Reihan Salam*
To win, the GOP must comprehensively address the cost of middle-class living.

33 Brand: Old Party *by John Hood*
But marketing is only part of the GOP's problem.

35 Congressman Kemp's Playbook *by John J. Miller*
Conservatives should modernize the supply-side message.

37 The Four Horsemen of Barack Obama *by Kevin A. Hassett*
Why markets are predicting apocalypse.

38 You Paid What for That? *by Jim Manzi*
We can win the cap-and-trade fight in 2009.

39 Roots of Defeat *by Patrick Ruffini*
Let us study, and emulate, the Left's online tactics.

41 Going Mainstream *by Stephen Spruiell*
The Right faces new media realities.

42 Not Dead Yet *by John O'Sullivan*
There's life in the old GOP—if it will fight.

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

50 Brave New Volumes—*Wesley J. Smith* . . . Imagining the Future: Science and American Democracy, *by Yuval Levin*; In the Shadow of Progress: Being Human in the Age of Technology, *by Eric Cohen*

53 Backcountry Boy—*Michael Knox Beran* . . . American Lion: Andrew Jackson in the White House, *by Jon Meacham*

55 Out of Darkness—*John Wilson* . . . No One Sees God: The Dark Night of Atheists and Believers, *by Michael Novak*

56 Music: Celebrating Horne—Jay Nordlinger catches up with a legendary mezzo-soprano.

58 The Straggler: No, We Can't—John Derbyshire separates tragic truth from festive falsehood.

SECTIONS

2 Letters
4 The Week
48 Help!
49 The Long View
56 Poetry
60 Happy Warrior

COVER: *Harald Sund/Brand X Pictures/Jupiter*

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by NATIONAL REVIEW, Inc., at 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. ©National Review, Inc., 2008. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc., to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to NATIONAL REVIEW, Circulation Dept., P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 815-734-1232, Monday–Friday, 8:00 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to NATIONAL REVIEW, Circulation Dept., P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A.

RATES: $59.00 a year (24 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts or artwork unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

NATIONAL
REVIEW

December 1 issue; printed November 13

EDITOR
Richard Lowry

Senior Editors
Richard Brookhiser / Jay Nordlinger
Ramesh Ponnuru / David Pryce-Jones
Managing Editor Jason Lee Steorts
Literary Editor Michael Potemra
Executive Editor Christopher McEvoy
National Political Reporter John J. Miller
White House Correspondent Byron York
Legal-Affairs Editor Andrew C. McCarthy
Art Director Luba Kolomytseva
Deputy Managing Editors
Fred Schwarz / Kevin D. Williamson
Associate Editor Robert VerBruggen
Research Director John J. Virtes
Research Manager Dorothy McCartney
Executive Secretary Frances Bronson
Assistant to the Editor Katherine Connell
Contributing Editors
Robert H. Bork / John Derbyshire
Ross Douthat / Rod Dreher / David Frum
Roman Genn / Jim Geraghty / Jonah Goldberg
Florence King / Lawrence Kudlow / Mark R. Levin
Yuval Levin / Rob Long / Jim Manzi
Kate O'Beirne / David B. Rivkin Jr.

NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE
Editor Kathryn Jean Lopez
Managing Editor Edward John Craig
Associate Editor Emily Karrs
Staff Reporters David Freddoso
Mark Hemingway / Stephen Spruiell
Chief Technology Officer Nathan Goulding
Technical Services Russell Jenkins

CHAIRMAN & CEO
Thomas L. Rhodes
EDITORS-AT-LARGE
Linda Bridges / John O'Sullivan
Contributors
Hadley Arkes / Baloo / Tom Bethell
James Bowman / Priscilla L. Buckley
Eliot A. Cohen / Brian Crozier
Dinesh D'Souza / M. Stanton Evans
Chester E. Finn Jr. / Neal B. Freeman
James Gardner / David Gelernter
George Gilder / Jeffrey Hart / Kevin A. Hassett
Charles R. Kesler / John Kiley
James Jackson Kilpatrick / David Klinghoffer
Anthony Lejeune / D. Keith Mano
Richard John Neuhaus / Michael Novak
Alan Reynolds / William A. Rusher
Tracy Lee Simmons / Terry Teachout
Taki Theodoracopulos / Vin Weber

Assistant to the Chairman Barbara Nowack
Chief Financial Officer James X. Kilbridge
Accounting Manager Galina Veygman
Accountant Zofia Baraniak
Treasurer Rose Flynn DeMaio
Business Services
Alex Batey / Amy Tyler
Circulation Director Erik Zenhausern
Circulation Manager Jason Ng
WORLD WIDE WEB www.nationalreview.com
MAIN NUMBER 212-679-7330
SUBSCRIPTION INQUIRIES 815-734-1232
WASHINGTON OFFICE 202-543-9226
ADVERTISING SALES 212-679-7330
Executive Publisher Scott F. Budd
Advertising Director Jim Fowler
Advertising Manager Kevin Longstreet
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER Paul Olivett
VICE PRESIDENT April Ponnuru

PUBLISHER
Jack Fowler

FOUNDER
William F. Buckley Jr.

letters to the editor

NO NEED FOR ELITES

I strongly disagree with Ramesh Ponnuru ("Reform School," November 17) when he writes the following: "Any sensible politics includes an important role for elites. Developing policies and strategies is necessarily an elite pursuit."

I voted for Ronald Reagan for California governor and U.S. president. I believe his strengths were in his firm beliefs and grasp of principles. Similar things could be said of Margaret Thatcher. I have read a considerable amount about both of them, and I am not aware of their needing elites for developing policies and strategies.

I believe Sarah Palin has that same character and ability to learn quickly, as evidenced by her ability to fight corrupt Republican politicians in Alaska. She was obviously a quick study as governor, as evidenced by her very high approval rating.

Jim Davidson
Stilwell, Kan.

Ramesh Ponnuru replies: Does Mr. Davidson imagine that Reagan came up with supply-side economics by himself? Reagan and his aides didn't feel themselves diminished for learning from *Wall Street Journal* writers, academic economists, and Washington think tankers.

ROADWAY SOCIALISM

In "Toll Talk" (November 17), Robert VerBruggen proposes congestion pricing as a way to manage traffic on our nation's highways, and responds to the criticism that variable tolls are unfair to the poor. One of the solutions he suggests is to charge the poor lower tolls.

If the thought of linking tax returns to license plates for progressive congestion pricing doesn't send chills through your carburetor, it should. Do we really want to see toll collectors morph into IRS agents?

Also, if the misuse of handicap-parking placards is any guide, we'll just see Mom jumping in a car registered under Junior's name (and low-bracket tax return) to head to work. Let's stick with fees based on traffic levels, not income.

Kristina Rasmussen
Alexandria, Va.

Robert VerBruggen replies: Legitimate points both. But regarding the first, I believe it's worthwhile to trade some redistribution for a far more efficient transportation system, especially considering that breaks for the poor are already so common in government services. All sorts of fees—including, already, tolls in some areas—are lower for the poor. It's not exactly a sharp left turn down the Road to Serfdom.

Regarding the second, that is a potential problem, but one that can be ameliorated in several ways. It's possible to limit discounts to one car per person, especially in systems that use license-plate recognition instead of transponders. (It's easy to move a transponder from one car to another, but not practical to switch license plates every day before work.) One should also require proof of employment—if Junior has a job, Mom won't have access to his car that often. If he doesn't have a job, he's exactly the kind of person who should be rescheduling his trips to avoid peak fares instead of getting a discount. And of course it's important to levy high fines on those caught defrauding the system.

Letters can be submitted by e-mail to letters@nationalreview.com.

How can we squeeze more food from a RAINDROP?

Farming feeds the world, but it depends on vital natural resources. Just consider this: irrigation for agriculture consumes 2/3 of the world's fresh water.

Experts have concluded that agricultural output will need to double by 2050 to feed a growing world. We'll need to get more from each drop of irrigated water.

We'll also need to do more with the solution nature already provides: rain. The challenge for farmers is squeezing the most out of unpredictable rainfall. That requires putting the latest science-based tools in farmers' hands, including advanced hybrid and biotech seeds. Our goal is to develop seeds that significantly increase crop yields and can help farmers use 1/3 less water per unit produced.

Producing more. Conserving more. Improving farmers' lives. That's sustainable agriculture. And that's what Monsanto seeds are all about.

Non-irrigated agriculture produces 60% of the world's food. It will need to do more.

Learn more of the story at ProduceMoreConserveMore.com

MONSANTO
imagine®

PRODUCING MORE | CONSERVING MORE | IMPROVING FARMERS' LIVES

© 2008 Monsanto Co. Monsanto Imagine and the Vine Design are trademarks of Monsanto Technology LLC.

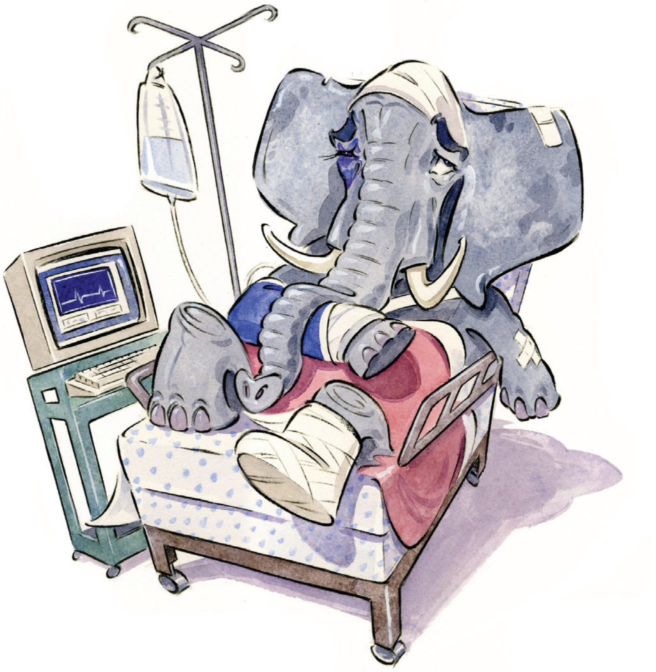
THE WEEK

■ You just knew His right-hand man would be called "Emanuel."

■ It's said that Barack Obama has chosen to go the good cop/bad cop route in running his White House. Under this scenario, Obama is the good cop. (We're skeptical, but will wait to see.) The bad cop is his new chief of staff, Illinois Democratic Rep. Rahm Emanuel, once famously described in the *Washington Post* as "a wiry-thin, foul-mouthed ballet dancer from Chicago." There's no doubt the tough-talking Emanuel will push hard to get things done. The question is whom he will push. There are reasons to feel—well, "hope" seems too strong a word, but perhaps we should indulge a little optimism—that some of Emanuel's much-discussed toughness will be directed at members of his own party, because in addition to being a to-the-wall partisan, Emanuel is also a bit of a political realist. When he was placed in charge of the Democrats' effort to win back the House in 2006, he did not insist on leftist ideological purity in every candidate, regardless of region. So the question is, now that Emanuel will be doing Obama's work in the White House, will he push the left wing of the Democratic party to conform to a moderate agenda, or will he direct all of his attacks at Republicans and the few remaining moderate Democrats?

■ Obama has signaled that one of his first items of business will be to ask Congress to pass a massive economic-stimulus package. With Obama in the White House, congressional Democrats can pass their dream bill—extensions of unemployment benefits and food stamps, a bailout for fiscally irresponsible states, and new roads and bridges for the constituents back home. We're hearing that the price tag could reach $300 billion. Whatever individual merits these policies might have, they are unlikely to stimulate the economy, for the simple reason that the government cannot inject money into the economy without first taking money out of the private sector through taxing or borrowing. Who knew that when Obama said "change" he meant a return to the threadbare fiscal policies of LBJ?

■ During the campaign, Obama said he would raise taxes on capital gains, dividends, and high earners. People with high incomes would see their income-tax rates go from 35 to 39.6 percent, with an additional 2 to 4 percent tax imposed to finance Social Security. If we are lucky, the weakness of the economy will have the one good effect of staying Obama's hand. If you were designing tax increases to exact the most economic damage in return for the least revenue, you might well come up with Obama's plan. A recession is a particularly bad time to act on these liberal impulses; the correct time is never.



DARREN GYGI

■ That $700 billion rescue package for banks is in danger of turning from a safety net into a slush fund. The scent of money has attracted lobbyists for every interest group in Washington. Now comes word that Treasury secretary Henry Paulson might dip into the fund to bail out struggling automakers GM and Chrysler. Auto sales are falling and both companies are in deep financial trouble. They blame the financial crisis and are asking Paulson to include them in the bank rescue. In order to qualify for the rescue money, GM's financing arm, GMAC, is seeking to transform itself into a conventional bank. This desperation borders on the comical. What's next, a free Chevy Cobalt when you open a new account? The contortions are a ruse to mask the inappropriateness of the automakers' request. The current economic contraction did not cause their problems, and a quick injection of cash won't solve them.

■ Two odious items top the Democrats' wish list as the coronation approaches. The first is reinstatement of the so-called Fairness Doctrine. The second is the abolition of secret-ballot elections in union-organizing votes. Both measures are illiberal and antidemocratic. Both appeal to the worst of the Left's vindictive passions, and therefore are popular among Democrats. And both use the government to create institutional advantages for the Left that it could not obtain through legitimate means. The Fairness Doctrine would require radio stations to broadcast a money-losing product: three hours of whiny liberal rejoinders to Rush Limbaugh every weekday. The doctrine has nothing to do with fairness—its resurrection is sought for the sole purpose of bankrupting stations that carry Limbaugh, Hannity, Levin, Ingraham and the rest

THE KING'S COLLEGE
NEW YORK CITY

In the landmark sophistication of New York City's famed Empire State Building stands The King's College; an elite, selective college committed to equipping young men and women to lead the great institutions of the world.

Through a unique, biblically-based curriculum focused on politics, philosophy, economics and business management, students prepare for careers in government, commerce, law, media, education, civil society, the arts and the church – an education of faith and consequence in the heart of New York City.

www.tkc.edu
1.800.969.7200

of the pack. Equally misnamed is the Employee Free Choice Act, which replaces secret-ballot elections with the “card check” system, meaning that a union thug who may also be your supervisor asks you to sign a form saying you want to be represented by his union—all of your own free will, of course. Labor unions routinely use violence as a tool of persuasion; workers facing their wrath deserve the protection of a secret ballot. How Obama greets these specimens of malfeasance will tell us much about what to expect from his administration.

■ Washington is abuzz with speculation that Obama might nominate Jamie Gorelick to be the next attorney general. It is difficult to imagine a worse choice. As Clinton’s deputy AG, Gorelick—over the objections of seasoned prosecutors—heightened the infamous “wall” that prevented intelligence officers from sharing information with criminal investigators, a reckless and unnecessary hamstring that contributed mightily to the FBI’s failure to foil the 9/11 plot. And then there’s her post-Clinton career. Like many well-connected Democrats, she moved seamlessly from public service to a cozy executive post at Fannie Mae, where she raked in millions while the company cooked the books and helped trigger the credit crisis. In the process, she benefited from a sweetheart mortgage loan from Countrywide, the giant lender whose shenanigans are currently the subject of a major federal investigation. Even assuming she is free of wrongdoing, she is not the right person to lead the Justice Department as it probes her former benefactors. Obama should look elsewhere.

■ The campaign continued for Sarah Palin, as blame-shifting McCain aides accused her, anonymously, of not knowing that Africa is a continent rather than a country. Nonsense, says Steve Biegun, a former NSC aide and Palin briefer, on the record: She knew Darfur and Clinton’s AIDS initiative from the get-go; her enemies are twisting overheard, let’s-get-this-straight queries in the confusion of debate prep. The governor should spend the next four years in Alaska, solidifying her credentials as an executive. Going to Washington as a senator would take some of her bloom off; she can get more media exposure than any solon. She needs to keep learning. And please, may she drop the notion that “core values” are all a politician needs. President Bush and his supporters seemed to believe the same thing, in part to excuse his tongue-tied ways—the reaction to which helped give us our new memoirist-in-chief. It’s no shame to know things, and to say them well.

■ One of John McCain’s most potent enemies was time. On the eve of the Republican convention, he turned 72. He was 25 years older than his opponent, 28 years older than his running mate. Elements of his biography—his time in the club of the Senate; his very different time in a North Vietnamese prison—made him seem older yet. Obama, slim and athletic, is by contrast a young 47. Of course, McCain was still a dozen years younger than Deng Xiaoping when he masterminded the Tiananmen Square massacre. But the job of Communist despot, while taxing, does not require living in the political spotlight in the same way as American presidential candidates must. If the electorate wanted change—and both candidates promised it—then Obama seemed more suited to the task. There is a tide in the affairs of men, which taken at the ebb—leads nowhere.

■ Every election ends in unifying rhetoric, and this one was no different. McCain pledged “to find ways to come together to find the necessary compromises to bridge our differences,” and Obama answered his four infinitives with four alliterations, rejecting the “partisanship and pettiness . . . that has poisoned our politics for so long.” Partisan politics was the stepchild of the founders. They created a two-party system, Federalists and Republicans (today’s Democrats), but they were uncomfortable with what they had done. Each party believed it spoke for the nation—which implied that the other party was illegitimate. Thomas Jefferson put it best, as he often did, saying in his first inaugural, “We are all republicans—we are all federalists,” but writing, in a private letter, “I shall . . . sink federalism into an abyss from which there shall be no resurrection.” Time has shown that parties are a check and balance as important as any in the Constitution. Competition exposes shortcomings and develops solutions. Let the game begin—again.

■ On Election Day, three states passed referenda against same-sex marriage, including notoriously liberal California, which undid a state-supreme-court decision in the process. Same-sex marriage has now been up for a vote in 30 states and lost in all of them. Moreover, the polls show no lessening of public opposition over the last five years. We know that same-sex marriage is supposed to be inevitable and opposition to it futile, but somebody forgot to tell the voters.

■ “Hi. We’re from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” says an actor playing a Mormon missionary. “We’re here to take away your rights,” adds his colleague. Next, they enter the home of a lesbian couple, pry off their wedding rings, and tear up their marriage certificate. This commercial aired in California before the election, and it targeted the Mormon church for encouraging its members to donate time and resources to the passage of Proposition 8, the aforementioned ballot measure. California’s Catholic bishops and a number of evangelical churches, including the megachurch of Rick Warren, also supported Proposition 8, but anger over its passage has focused disproportionately on Mormons. Gay-rights activists have organized protests at their temples both in and out of California, accused them of bigotry and hatred, and called for their church to lose its tax-exempt status (for which punishment, no convincing legal case can be made). A few points to keep in mind: First, the millions of dollars that Mormons donated in support of Proposition 8 were private, individual contributions, not money from the church. Second, there are reasons to oppose same-sex marriage other than anti-gay bigotry, and gay-rights activists discredit themselves by attributing the worst possible motives to those who disagree with them. Third, trying to change the church’s tax status is a double-edged sword that might be used equally well against religious organizations (not to mention nonprofits) that endorse liberal causes. What this comes down to is that like-minded people exercised their political rights and are being vilified for it.

■ Since 1996, Ward Connerly has pushed ballot initiatives to ban racial preferences in California, Washington, and Michigan, where they were approved. This year, he set an

Will Congress turn back the clock on energy?

Congress recently heard the voices of a strong majority of Americans and lifted the federal ban on offshore drilling that has kept a good deal of our country's oil and natural gas resources off-limits.

At a time when tight supplies and volatile energy costs are hitting Americans hard, that's great news for the future. Developing domestic energy resources will also help boost our economy by creating jobs, attracting investment to our country and pumping billions of dollars into federal and state budgets.

But some in Congress want to turn the clock back and restore the ban after the election. Americans can't let that happen.

The next Congress and new president need to listen to the American people. It's time to work together and develop the full range of America's energy resources for the benefit and security of Americans.

EnergyTomorrow.org

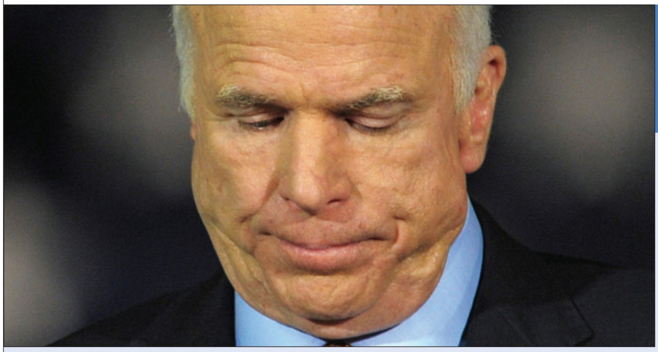
THE *people* OF AMERICA'S
OIL AND NATURAL GAS INDUSTRY

Tell Congress: move forward on increasing domestic energy supplies.

ambitious goal for himself: five initiatives in five states. In the end, just two qualified for the ballot, and only the one in Nebraska passed. The vote in Colorado was close, and the opposition dramatically outspent Connerly and his local allies. It also ran a demagogic campaign—its website, for instance, equated opposition to affirmative action with support for the KKK. Over the years, the effort to establish truly equal opportunity has endured many legal and political setbacks. At some point, however, the bean-counting simply must stop. A nation that is capable of electing a black president has no further need of policies that judge people by the color of their skin (if ever it did). We hope Connerly is not done.

■ Hispanics favored Obama over McCain by 67 to 31 percent. As a disproportionately low-income group that values social services, they start out leaning toward the Democrats. They favored them more in this election for the same reasons that most groups did. The perception that Republicans are hostile to immigrants doubtless increased these tendencies still further, but must have played a relatively minor role. In any case, if Senator McCain, a co-sponsor of legislation granting amnesty to illegal immigrants, cannot overcome this perception, then no Republican can. Going forward, Republicans should encourage the economic and cultural assimilation of Hispanics. They should explain how conservative policies can advance

---



MANDEL NGAN/AFP

Exit Stage Right

ASSUMING there's still time for some good, old-fashioned recriminations about the recent unpleasantness at the polls, I'd like to vent my most enduring complaint about the Republican party and *Homo republicanus* generally: Republicans have an infuriating tendency to read their stage directions instead of their lines. They tell the audience about their characters' motivation, their blocking, staging, lighting, whatever. But they never just play their part.

I first noticed this way back in 1991. KKK nutter David Duke had won a seat in Louisiana's house of representatives in 1989 and was letting the national press use him against the GOP generally. Pres. George H. W. Bush needed to denounce Duke in the strongest possible terms. Instead, what he said was: "We have—I have—want to be positioned in that I could not possibly support David Duke because of the racism and because of the very recent statements that are very troubling in terms of bigotry and all of this." *Positioned?*

Then there was Bob Dole, the conviction politician who told a Republican audience: "If that's what you want, I'll be another Ronald Reagan." He somehow turned the 1996 campaign into a referendum on that burning national question, "Should I go negative?" According to his own campaign, Dole's overarching strategy was to "act presidential." Not to "be presidential"—just to act that way.

I could go on, but let's fast-forward to the McCain campaign, which seemed more interested in talking about the process of running for president with a press corps determined to eat it alive than in actually running for president. Campaign adviser Charlie Black told the press that it "would be a big advantage" for McCain if we had a terrorist attack on American soil. True enough. But saying so wins you no points whatsoever.

Another unnamed "Republican operative" told the *Washington Post*: "There's no question that we have to change the subject" from the economy. A "senior campaign official" added that the campaign would change the tone and go much more "aggressive."

Now, again, I have no problem with the stage direction. By all means, the McCain campaign should have been more aggressive. Much, much more aggressive. Bob Dole should have gone negative. He should have acted presidential. Poppa Bush absolutely should have positioned himself as far as possible from David Duke.

But in politics—as in life!—there's a huge difference between showing and telling. One of the key ingredients of "acting presidential" is not to wave your arms around shouting, "Hey, look at me, I'm acting presidential!" Positioning yourself in opposition to some racist kook is best achieved by denouncing the racist kook, not telling the world how you want to be positioned.

And of course the economy hurt John McCain in this election. Of course he should have changed the subject (if, as it seems, he was incapable of discussing the economy competently). But why on earth would you tell people that?

Part of the answer for the McCain campaign is that these guys are notoriously concerned about being on good terms with the press. That's why they seemed so obsessed with the press's treating them unfairly. They were like jilted lovers.

But I think there's a larger lesson here. Republicans, moderates and conservatives alike, generally see politics as an unnatural vocation. The forced outrage, the mock piety, the pursuit of consensus, and the outsized need to take account of people's feelings: It's all a bit too fake for people from the world of business, finance, or the military. But for many liberals, politics (like the fields of education, journalism, and, most of all, acting) is an authentic calling. They don't see acting as dishonest; they see it as inspiring. They don't feel quite so dirty pretending to be outraged. They know their lines—and want to read them. I think this shortcoming generally speaks well of Republicans as people, but in politicians it can be infuriating.

Maybe that's why the best conservative politician of the 20th century was an actor.

—JONAH GOLDBERG

REBUILD AFTER METH

The headlines about methamphetamine—meth—have been grim. This highly addictive drug leaves a path of destruction that hurts families and entire communities. Users suffer severe health consequences; children are often neglected; and communities face dangerous crime and overburdened law enforcement.

Are we making strides in the fight against meth? Absolutely. From first responders to substance abuse professionals, those who work on the frontlines to combat meth recognize the progress.

- ***Meth use among youth and young adults has declined significantly since 2002.***[1]
- ***More meth users are seeking help. Meth treatment admissions have more than tripled in the past decade.***[2]
- ***And law enforcement officials are finding fewer and fewer domestic meth labs—meth lab seizures in the U.S. have decreased dramatically since 2004.***[3]

There is still work to be done, however — from eradicating meth production and distribution to helping those battling addiction. Consider Teresa. She is a mother, Girl Scout volunteer, and website developer. Her life took a sharp turn when she started using meth to lose weight. Her story went from bad to worse as she abandoned her family, including her 4-year-old daughter, for nearly a year in the search for her next high. She eventually entered a treatment program and made a commitment to conquer her addiction. Today, she is drug-free and a leader in anti-meth efforts in her community. There are thousands of people like Teresa out there, showing individuals and communities what they need to know.

- ***Treatment is available, and it works.***
- ***Drug addiction treatment is cost-effective—for every $1 invested in drug treatment programs, there is a $12 savings in crime and health care costs.***[4]

Each year, nearly 150,000 people are admitted to treatment for methamphetamine.[5] And outcomes for meth users entering treatment are comparable to those for users of other similar drugs.[6] Find out about substance abuse treatment, and support meth treatment in your community.

Learn more at methresources.gov or call 1-800-662-HELP.

American Society of Addiction Medicine
Community Anti-Drug Coalitions of America (CADCA)
National Association of Addiction Treatment Providers
NAADAC, Association for Addiction Professionals
National Association of Counties
National Association of Social Workers

National Conference of State Legislatures
National Drug Enforcement Officers Association
National Narcotics Officers' Association Coalition
The Partnership for a Drug-Free America
Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA)
State Associations of Addiction Services

---

[1] SAMHSA, Office of Applied Studies, National Survey on Drug Use and Health (NSDUH), 2002-2006, Table 8.40B.

[2] SAMHSA, Office of Applied Studies, Treatment Episode Data Set (TEDS) 2007, Table 1b.

[3] DOJ, National Drug Intelligence Center, National Methamphetamine Threat Assessment 2008, December 2007.

[4] National Institute on Drug Abuse, "Principles of Drug Addiction Treatment: A Research-Based Guide," 2000.

[5] SAMHSA, Office of Applied Studies, Treatment Episode Data Set (TEDS) 2007, Table 1a.

[6] National Institute on Drug Abuse, "Principles of Drug Addiction Treatment: A Research-Based Guide," 2000.

Office of National Drug Control Policy

ADVERTISEMENT

Amish mantle and miracle invention help home heat bills hit rock bottom

Miracle heaters being given away free with orders for real Amish fireplace mantles to announce the invention that help slash heat bills, but Amish craftsmen under strain of Christmas rush forces household limit of 2

Save money: only uses about 8¢ electric an hour; so turn down your thermostat and never be cold again

By Mark Woods
Universal Media Syndicate

■ **GENUINE AMISH MANTLES MADE IN THE USA:** Everyone wants to save money on heat bills this winter, so entire Amish communities are working from the crack of dawn to finish. These fine real wood Amish made fireplace mantles are built to last forever. The oak mantle is a real steal at just two hundred ninety-eight dollars because all those who beat the order deadline by calling the National Hotline at 1-800-918-4312 to order the fireplace mantles are actually getting the imported hi-tech Fireless Flame HEAT SURGE miracle heaters for free.

(UMS) Everyone hates high heat bills. But we're all sick and tired of simply turning down the thermostat and then being cold.

Well now, the popular HEAT SURGE® miracle heaters are actually being given away free to the general public for the next 48 hours starting at precisely 8:00 a.m. today.

The only thing readers have to do is call the National Distribution Hotline before the 48-hour deadline with their order for the handmade Amish Fireplace Mantle. Everyone who does is instantly being awarded the miracle heater absolutely free.

This is all happening to announce the HEAT SURGE Roll-n-Glow® Fireplace which actually rolls from room-to-room so you can turn down your thermostat and take the heat with you anywhere. That way, everyone who gets them first can immediately start saving on their heat bills.

Just in time for winter weather, portable Amish encased fireplaces are being delivered directly to the doors of all those who beat the deadline.

These remarkable fireplaces are being called a miracle because they have what's being called the 'Fireless Flame' patented technology that gives you the peaceful flicker of a real fire but without any flames, fumes, smells, ashes or mess. Everyone is getting them because they require no chimney and no vent. You just plug them in.

The Fireless Flame looks so real it amazes everybody because it has no real fire. So what's the catch? Well, soft spoken Amish craftsmen who take their time hand building the mantles have a process that forces a strict household limit of 2 to keep up with orders.

"We can barely keep up ever since we started giving heaters away free. With winter just around the corner, everyone's trying to get them. Amish craftsmen are working their fingers to the bone to be sure everyone gets their delivery in time for Christmas," confirms Timothy Milton, National Shipping Director.

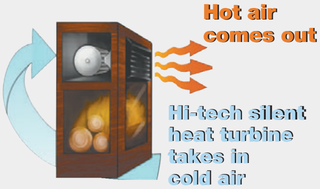
"These portable Roll-n-Glow Fireplaces are the latest home decorating sensation. They actually give you a beautifully redecorated room while they quickly heat from wall to wall. It's the best way to dress up every room, stay really warm and slash your heat bills all at the same time," says Josette Holland, Home Makeover Expert.

And here's the best part. Readers who beat the 48-hour order deadline are getting their imported hi-tech miracle heaters free when encased in the Amish built real wood fireplace mantles. The mantles are being handmade in the USA right in the heart of Amish country where they are

HEAT SURGE®
Fireless Flame

How It Works: The HEAT SURGE miracle heater is a work of engineering genius from the China coast so advanced, you simply plug it into any standard wall outlet. It uses only about 8¢ of electric an hour on the standard setting. Yet, it produces up to an amazing 5,119 BTU's on the high setting. An on board Powerful hi-tech heat turbine silently forces hot air out into the room so you feel the bone soothing heat instantly. It even has certification of Underwriters Laboratories coveted UL listing. It also comes with a limited full year replacement or money back warranty plus a 30-Day Satisfaction Guarantee.

UL LISTED

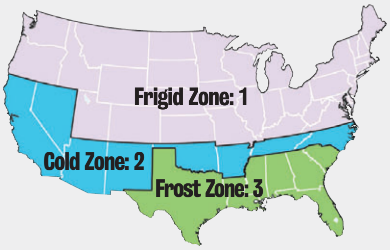

Hot air comes out
Hi-tech silent heat turbine takes in cold air

How to get 2 free heaters

The National Toll Free Hotlines are now open. All those who beat the 48-hour order deadline to cover the cost of the Amish made Fireplace Mantle and shipping get the HEAT SURGE miracle heater free.

A strict limit of 2 per household has been imposed. Since some home woodworkers want to build their own mantle piece, they are letting people get the imported miracle heater alone for just $249. Or, with the Amish made mantle you get the miracle heater free.

Use the map below to locate the weather zone you live in and call the Hotline number for your zone.



Claim Code: FP6577

ON THEIR WAY: Christmas orders have turned country roads into pipelines to the big city delivery system. Everybody wants a fireplace that comes fully assembled with a handmade Amish mantle in oak or cherry finish and gets delivered by truck right to your door. All you do is plug it in.

EVERYONE LIVING IN THE
Frigid Zone: 1
START CALLING AT
8:00 A.M. TODAY
1-800-918-4312

EVERYONE LIVING IN THE
Cold Zone: 2
START CALLING AT
8:30 A.M. TODAY
1-800-716-2513

EVERYONE LIVING IN THE
Frost Zone: 3
START CALLING AT
9:00 A.M. TODAY
1-800-695-3077

FOR HEAT SURGE, LLC 3939 EVERHARD RD., CANTON OH 44709

©2008 HEAT SURGE P4342A OF6383R-1

beautifully hand-rubbed, stained and varnished.

You just can't find custom made Amish mantles like this in the national chain stores. That makes the oak mantle a real steal for just two hundred ninety-eight dollars since the entire cost of the miracle heater is free.

This free giveaway is the best way to slash heating bills and stay warm this fall and winter. The HEAT SURGE Roll-n-Glow Fireplace gives you zone heating and all the beauty and warmth of a built-in fireplace but rolls from room-to-room so it can also save you a ton of money on heating bills.

Even people in California and Florida are flocking to get them so they may never have to turn on their furnace all winter. And since it uses only about 8 cents of electric an hour on the standard setting, the potential savings are absolutely incredible.

"We are making sure no one gets left out, but you better hurry because entire communities of Amish craftsmen are straining to keep up with demands. For now, we are turning away all dealers in order to let readers have two per household just as long as they call before the deadline," confirms Milton.

It's a really smart decision to get two right now because for only the next 48 hours you get both miracle heaters free. That's like putting five hundred bucks right in your pocket and you can save even more money on your monthly heating bills.

"Everyone's calling to get one but those who are getting their Christmas shopping done are surprising the whole family by getting two. So when lines are busy keep trying or log onto amishfireplaces.com. We promise to get to every call. Then we can have a delivery truck out to your door right away with your beautiful Heat Surge Roll-n-Glow Fireplace," Milton said.

"You'll instantly feel bone soothing heat in any room. You will never have to be cold again," he said. ■

On the worldwide web:
www.amishfireplaces.com

Rolls anywhere to throw an instant heat wave with no chimney, no vents, no wood and no smoke

EASILY ROLLS ANYWHERE: This is the portable Roll-n-Glow® Fireplace that easily rolls from bedroom to living room to keep you warm. No vents, no chimney and no tools. Just plug it in.

SAVES ON BILLS: Everyone can get low bills and stay warm and cozy. The new Roll-n-Glow Fireplace saves a ton of money and makes your front room look like a million bucks.

SAFE: The Fireless Flame looks so real it fools everybody but there is no real fire. That makes the flame safe to the touch. It's where the kids will play and the cat and dog will sleep.

FREE: Get this $249 miracle heater free. It is being given away free to all who beat the 48-hour order deadline for your choice of the oak or cherry finish Amish Mantles. The free heater comes already encased.

THE WEEK...

the aspirations of low-income workers of all races. Those policies include limits on unskilled immigration. But Republicans must take care not to give the impression that these limits are motivated by dislike of the immigrants themselves. In these debates, tone matters as well as substance, and if Republicans get either wrong, they may find that their worst losses are ahead of them.

■ The election added another kink to Joe Lieberman's relationship with the Democratic party. Rejected by Democratic voters in the 2006 primary for his support of the Iraq War and the surge, he had to win reelection as an independent. This year he backed John McCain for president in a prime-time speech at the GOP convention. Yet Lieberman caucused with the Democrats for the last two years, giving them their Senate majority, and on every issue save the war he is a dependable liberal. He also gave money to Democratic Senate candidates. Majority leader Harry Reid must now decide whether to strip Lieberman of his chairmanship of the Homeland Security and Government Affairs Committee. Giving Lieberman the boot would be an act of intellectual good housekeeping. Iraq was the salient national-security issue of the mid-'00s. It is a shame that Democrats made blindness a requirement of party loyalty, but it would be an equal shame for them to disguise the fact now by keeping Lieberman around. When a similar issue arises, will they want such a bumptious Americanist in their ranks?

ZUMA

■ In Minnesota, Republican senator Norm Coleman is, at this writing, sweating out the results of a tight reelection contest with faded jokester Al Franken. Election-night returns showed Coleman ahead by about 700 votes, which dwindled to 200 after correction of arithmetical and transcription errors. So far there is no firm evidence of intentional misconduct, though an electronic vote record that was somehow date-stamped two days before the election raised a few eyebrows, as did a small county's addition of 100 votes for Franken and an election official's reportedly discovering 32 absentee ballots in the trunk of her car. Next up is a recount, in which election judges will tally every one of the nearly 3 million optical-scan ballots by hand. Since representatives of the two candidates can challenge any ballot they deem unclear, this procedure could easily degenerate into farce, which might lead to something even worse—investigation by a committee of the Democrat-controlled Senate (though, in a hopeful sign, an early hand recount of 7,700 ballots in Ramsey County changed exactly one vote). Minnesota's officials must ensure that the "paper trail," originally meant to serve as verification and backup for electronic voting machines, is not converted into a mulligan for the losing side.

■ When Obama first visited Kenya, his father's country, in 1988, he was greeted by his aunt Zeituni Onyango. "'Welcome home,' Zeituni said, kissing me on both cheeks," wrote Obama in his autobiography. Our president-elect has been somewhat less effusive in welcoming Miss Onyango to the U.S. The lady came here eight years ago on a temporary visa and obtained a Social Security card in 2001. When her visa expired, she applied for political asylum, but the application was rejected in 2004 and a judge ordered her to leave the country. Onyango chose not to comply, and is now a fugitive alien. Since 2003 she has been living in public housing in Boston and receiving a stipend from that city's Housing Authority for being a part-time "health advocate"—yet another one of those jobs, apparently, that Americans will not do. Her straitened circumstances notwithstanding, Onyango managed to donate $260 to her nephew's presidential campaign—illegally, as she is not a citizen. The president-elect returned the donations (after they were publicized) and says that his aunt should obey the law. Wait a minute—you mean we have *laws* on immigration? For how much longer?

■ The mainstream media's left-wing bias is no secret to anyone who can read, but we're always impressed when someone within the establishment has the temerity to admit it. Such was the case at the *Washington Post* recently, as its ombudsman, Deborah Howell, published some statistics about the paper's campaign coverage. It's no surprise that since November 11 of last year, Obama got more coverage (946 stories to McCain's 786)—the Democratic primary went on longer. But there's less of an excuse for the count since the end of the primaries, which Obama also won, 626 to 584. Perhaps most telling of all, though, was Howell's impression of the coverage's quality as opposed to quantity: The paper ran more than twice as many "horse race" stories as "issue" stories; also, Howell noted, "Obama deserved tougher scrutiny than he got, especially of his undergraduate years, his start in Chicago and his relationship with Antoin 'Tony' Rezko, who was convicted this year of influence-peddling in Chicago. The *Post* did nothing on Obama's acknowledged drug use as a teenager." This admission comes a day late and a dollar short, but it's more than we've come to expect from the mainstream press.

■ In the waning days of the presidential campaign, Joe Biden said: "Mark my words. It will not be six months before the world tests Barack Obama." In reality, it took only a day or two, as Russian president Dmitry Medvedev delivered a stern speech in which he demanded that the United States stop building a missile-defense system in the Czech Republic and Poland, and threatened to retaliate by deploying missiles near the Polish border. The Russian obsession with a small missile-defense system in Eastern Europe is strange: A handful of interceptors provide no deterrent to Russian weaponry and are in fact a NATO response to the emerging menace of Iran. So far, Obama has not indicated what he will do, though he has previously announced his hostility to missile defense. He can now either stand up to Russia's fulminations or try to appease. That choice has significant implications for American national security, and it will reveal much about how he intends to govern.

■ The election was hardly over before Obama received a letter of congratulation from Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad—

LIFE INSURANCE ALERT FOR SENIORS

NEW! How to sell your unwanted and unneeded life insurance policies for cash

Here are the facts:

- Investor groups and financial institutions are now paying cash to buy unwanted life insurance policies. Whole life, universal life, term life, joint-life, last-to-die and key-man life may qualify.
- You might own an unwanted and unneeded life insurance policy that is eligible to be sold for cash and not even know it!
- Rising premiums or changed family circumstances can create a situation where you've decided that a life insurance policy is no longer wanted or needed.
- For example, many people with unwanted cash value insurance mistakenly believe that the policy value is worth no more than the actual cash value. Even worse, many people mistakenly believe that their unwanted term life insurance can only expire worthless or be lapsed for zero value.
- How to obtain a free life insurance policy valuation. If you are at least 65 years of age and have at least $100,000 of life insurance coverage in force, please mail the coupon below, call us toll-free at 1-800-979-6420, ext. 101 or visit us online at www.insure.com.

Recent Purchase Offers

69 year-old male: $500,000 policy
Cash offer: $100,000
72 year-old female: $750,000 policy
Cash offer: $165,000
78 year-old male: $1,200,000 policy
Cash offer: $408,000
83 year-old female: $2,000,000 policy
Cash offer: $406,000

About Insure.com

"The best Web site I've found…"
The Dallas Morning News

"...we'd recommend you do your insurance shopping here..."
Barron's

"New source for best buys in insurance. One way to get to know the insurance market."
Kiplinger's

"…this site is flush with useful features."
Forbes.com

"…as good as a Web site on insurance can possibly be. Hats off and a gold star to the top insurance site on the Web."
Insurance for Dummies

"The premier Web site in terms of detail and ease of use, (best of all, it's free) is Insure.com…"
Yahoo! FINANCE

Insure.com 1-800-979-6420 ext. 101

***YES!* I am at least 65 years of age and would like free information on how I might be able to sell an unwanted life insurance policy for cash.**

Name ______ Date of birth (MM/DD/YY) ___/___/___ Age ______ Coverage $______
Address ______ Phone ______
City ______ State ______ Zip ______
Major Illness History: ☐ Heart Disease ☐ Cancer ☐ Diabetes ☐ Stroke ☐ Other ______
(Please check all that apply.)

Mail to: Insure.com, Inc., 8205 South Cass Avenue, Suite 102, Darien, IL 60561

Ad Code: NR 12/08

NOTE: The sale of an unwanted and unneeded life insurance policy is called a "life settlement" and is an activity that is regulated in at least 37 states. You should never lapse, cancel or sell a life insurance policy until after you have first obtained independent and unbiased information regarding all of your options and choices. The National Association of Insurance Commissioners has published a useful brochure entitled, "Selling Your Life Insurance Policy: Understanding Life Settlements." Copies may be obtained by calling (800) 979-6420 or visiting www.naic.org. This message and offer is void where prohibited by law. Insure.com, Inc. DBA Insure.com generates revenues from the receipt of industry-standard fees and commissions paid to it by participating insurance companies, life settlement providers and investors. Copyright ©1984-2008 Insure.com, Inc. All rights reserved. AR agent #7991, CA agent #0A13858, LA agent #200696, MA agent #333509159. Insure.com, Inc. dba Insure.com, Inc. Insurance Services in CA under agent #0827712, in LA under agent #205078. Insure.com, Inc. dba Insure.com Insurance Services, Inc. in UT under agent #90093. Insure.com, Inc. dba Insure.com, Inc. and Life Quotes, Inc. in CO.

a sort of love letter, really, in the way it mentioned past quarrels only to rise above them. Prompting it was the political chaos in Tehran, where Ahmadinejad's government is falling apart, and where he is unpopular enough to lose elections next year. More to the point, though, negotiations are under way between Washington and Baghdad on a status-of-forces agreement (SOFA), which would determine a timetable for the withdrawal of American troops from Iraq. The Sunnis and Kurds, and everyone else in the region except the Shiites, would like an American garrison to remain, with enough strength to act as peacekeepers if need be. Tehran, which has toned down the violence of its Iraqi Shiite clients, wants the Americans out completely in the expectation that it will be able to dominate the Shiite government that seems a certainty for the foreseeable future. Being nice to Obama is a move to influence the SOFA in its favor, which would be another step toward Iranian hegemony in the Gulf region. Obama continues to criticize Iran's development of a nuclear weapon and its sponsorship of terror, and that's answer enough to this love letter.

■ An economic growth rate of 5.8 percent doesn't sound too bad, does it? It does if you're one of the technocrat-thugs who run China. The export- and investment-driven Chinese economy grew at an "official" rate (probably somewhat overstated) of 11.9 percent last year, but, thanks to the worldwide economic downturn, that number is falling fast, and projected to sink to 5.8 percent next quarter. The problem for the politburo is that, skyscrapers of Shanghai notwithstanding, much of the country remains poor and discontented. In a democracy, there is a pressure valve for such discontent—a little something called an election. Beijing has chosen instead to bribe the masses into complacency, and has long assumed that something like 10 percent growth is required to create enough jobs to keep them happy. China's rulers have now announced a stimulus plan of close to $600 billion (much of it a Keynesian orgy, but never mind). It has been close to three decades since Deng Xiaoping began the high-wire act of combining market liberalism with political illiberalism; the position of his successors is no less precarious.

■ The National party, Kiwi conservatives, will lead New Zealand's new government. And there's even better news from down under: The National government will be joined by five members from the ACT party, arguably the most free-market outfit to hold seats in any of the world's parliaments. (The name originally stood for Association of Consumers and Taxpayers.) ACT's platform includes Gingrich-style welfare reform, a flat tax, and closer relations with the U.S. and the rest of the Anglosphere. And so the world turns: With Merkel in Germany, Sarkozy in France, Berlusconi in Italy, Harper in Canada, and Cameron ascendant in the United Kingdom, America under the triumvirate of Obama-Reid-Pelosi stands to have one of the most left-wing governments among the world's major powers. Suggestion to Republican strategists: Vacation in Wellington.

■ Britain's Queen Mother—which is to say, the mother of the present monarch—died in 2002 at the age of 101, having survived two world wars, the abdication of her brother-in-law, the disdain of Eleanor Roosevelt (who called her "a little self-consciously regal"), the death of her husband, the fiasco of her grandson's marriage to Princess Diana, and several decades' steady consumption of Gordon's gin with Dubonnet. Now British radio journalist Edward Stourton has written a book in which he calls Her Majesty "a ghastly old bigot." The Queen Mum, claims Stourton, on his telling her that he was just back from a European summit, said: "It will never work, you know. . . . It will never work with all those Huns, wops, and dagos." Well, it is somewhat heartening to know that the fine old English contempt for all other nations—the conviction, as traditionally expressed, that "the wogs start at Calais"—survived into the 21st century. However, given the origins of the House of Windsor into which she married—the House of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha until an expedient name change in World War I—the lady seems to have been calling down fire on her own position.

■ The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, standing on a site believed to be that of Christ's Resurrection, is managed by six different Christian sects under a complex set of protocols dating from the Ottoman Empire. Each sect guards its rights very jealously, and there are frequent petty conflicts. The keys to the main entrance of the church have been held by a Muslim family since the 12th century because the Christians do not trust one another. In 2002 a Coptic monk placed his chair in a section of the church claimed by Ethiopians: The resulting fracas put some dozen monks in the hospital. On November 9 this year things got nasty yet again, when a rumble between Greek Orthodox and Armenian monks had to be broken up by Israeli police. One of the Greeks, having perhaps been too slow to turn the other cheek, had a nasty gash on his forehead. "This is my commandment," said the Prince of Peace to His followers, "that ye love one another, as I have loved you." It seems to be taking a while to sink in.

■ School bake sales are tons of fun, and that worries California's committees for the promotion of virtue and prevention of vice, whose blue-nosed busybodies fret that their young wards are packing too much tonnage. California has adopted strict dietary guidelines governing what sorts of comestibles may be sold in its schools—even at occasional bake sales—which has led to the banishment of that old standby, the cupcake. Reports the *New York Times*: "The Piedmont High water polo team falls woefully short of these standards, selling cupcakes, caramel apples and lemon bars off campus in a flagrant act of nutritional disobedience." Savor those words: *nutritional disobedience*. As longtime advocates of the decriminalization of desserts and other controlled substances, the editors of this magazine pray that California will have the good sense to legalize cupcakes, and even harder substances such as lemon bars, thereby undermining the black market in confections and bringing sucrose-related commerce out of the shadows and into the open marketplace.

"During my many years as a jeweler, examining an astonishing 20 ctw emerald necklace certainly is a rare treat. The Stauer *Emerald in Gold Necklace* is as good as it gets."
— *James T. Fent, Stauer GIA Graduate Gemologist*

The Curse of the Perfect Gift

20 carats of polished natural emeralds linked with 14K gold for under $200!

It happened on our last trip to South America. After visiting the "Lost City" of Machu Picchu in Peru, we ventured through the mountains and down the Amazon into Brazil. In an old village we met a merchant with an impressive collection of spectacular, iridescent emeralds. Each gem was tumbled smooth and glistened like a perfect rain forest dew drop. But the price was so unbelievable, I was sure our interpreter had made a mistake.

But there was no mistake. And after returning home, I had 20 carats of these exquisite emeralds strung up in 14k gold and wrapped as a gift for my wife's birthday. That's when my trouble began. She loved it. Absolutely adored it. In fact, she rarely goes anywhere without the necklace and has basked in compliments from total strangers for months now.

So what's the problem? I'm never going to find an emerald deal this good again. In giving her such a perfect gift, I've made it impossible to top myself.

To make matters worse, my wife's become obsessed with emeralds. She can't stop sharing stories about how Cleopatra cherished the green gem above all others and how emeralds were worshiped by the Incas and Mayans and prized by Spanish conquistadors and Indian maharajahs. She's even buying into ancient beliefs that emeralds bring intelligence, well-being and good luck to anyone who wears them. I don't have the heart to tell her that I'm never going to find another deal this lucky.

Complete your collection with the 5 ctw Emerald in 14K Gold Earrings.

Our elegant *Emeralds in 14K Gold Necklace* features 20 carats of smooth, round emerald beads, hand-wired together with delicate 14K gold links. Each bead is unique in both size and color, ranging from transparent to translucent. The 18" necklace fastens with a spring ring clasp. If you are not thrilled at this rare find, send it back within 30 days for a full refund of the purchase price. But remember, we have only found enough emeralds to make a small limited number of necklaces and earrings at this low price.

JEWELRY SPECS:
- 20 ctw of polished natural emeralds
- Linked with 14K gold
- Necklace is 18" in length
- Earrings are 5 ½" in length
- Individual color may vary.

Emeralds in 14K Gold Necklace
(20 ctw) MSRP ~~$1,110~~
Your price **$199** +s&h

Emeralds in 14K Gold Earrings
(5 ctw) MSRP ~~$820~~
Your price **$175** +s&h

Call now to take advantage of this limited offer.

1-800-333-2045

Promotional Code EGN121-01
Please mention this code when you call.

Stauer
14101 Southcross Drive W.,
Dept. EGN0121-01
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337
www.stauer.com

Smart Luxuries—Surprising Prices

THE WEEK . . .

■ Amid the generally dismal election news, there were occasional positive results, and several of these came from a most unlikely place: San Francisco. Its citizens resoundingly rejected a proposal to name a sewage-treatment plant after George W. Bush, and another to decriminalize prostitution; one-quarter of them even voted against same-sex marriage. Best of all, San Francisco voters reversed their city council's decision to banish the Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps (JROTC) from public high schools. This being San Francisco, a group called Friends of JROTC had to reassure voters beforehand that JROTC "does not abide by the 'Don't Ask Don't Tell' policy." Still, it's a pleasant surprise to see the City by the Bay encouraging young students to consider military careers. The next thing you know, NATIONAL REVIEW will be holding subscription drives there.

■ One of President Bush's unheralded achievements has been his success at keeping left-leaning creative types in obscurity. He so infuriated the nation's liberal filmmakers that they spent enormous amounts of time and money on an endless series of unwatchable anti-Bush films whose cumulative receipts were just about matched by the first weekend of *Madagascar: Escape 2 Africa*. Even better, Bush gave the insufferable playwright/essayist Wallace Shawn a nasty case of writer's block. As Shawn told the *Times* of London: "I grew up in a country where my parents [his father was *New Yorker* editor William Shawn] thought of Americans as benevolent people. . . . Bush has openly mocked law and proclaimed a certain pleasure in sadism and exulted in holding prisoners and mistreating and torturing them. . . . My emotional life has been very strongly affected by the fact that Bush was president and my writing life is affected by my emotional life." Poor sensitive soul! Fortunately for cinéastes, however, Shawn was not too conflicted to continue his lucrative acting career. This means that future generations will have the opportunity to learn from his delicately shaded performances in such classics as *Fat Actress*, *Tom and Jerry in Shiver Me Whiskers*, and *Scooby-Doo and the Goblin King*.

■ Pity Michael Bloomberg. For all his billions, and all his power as mayor of New York (for which office he recently bought himself the chance to seek a third term), there is one place in the city where he cannot indulge his greatest pleasure—running other people's lives. That place is the headquarters of the United Nations, where New York's anti-smoking laws hold no sway and transnational bureaucrats from Tajikistan and Lesotho can puff away to their hearts' content (and their lungs' peril). It's not often that the U.N. does something right, though this laudable resistance to public-health puritanism may be more a case of the organization's habitual sloth than a sign of any dedication to freedom: In 2003, Kofi Annan proposed a smoking ban in the headquarters, and, though nothing is official yet, the General Assembly recently endorsed that policy. Still, it is pleasantly ironic that the United Nations, so often a tool of dictators and terrorists, now stands as one of the last outposts of individual freedom in a city gone mad with nanny-statism.

■ Here's a crime-fighting advance not to be sniffed at. How to identify an individual for forensic purposes? Fingerprinting is the longest-established method. Retinal scans and voice prints have some limited application. Now scientists from the Monell Center in Philadelphia, in recently published research, have shown that an individual's unique scent signature can still be detected even after a heroic diet of curry, garlic, or onions. Our odorprints are as individual as our fingerprints, apparently. The researchers look forward to the invention of sensor devices to detect odorprints, for example at crime scenes. An interesting new technology: but we predict the ACLU will make a stink about it.

■ John Leonard was an omnivorous and omnicompetent reviewer, for the *New York Times* and a raft of other publications. He was also a dedicated man of the Left—except for a brief period at the dawn of his career, when the Harvard dropout sent an essay on beatniks to William F. Buckley Jr., who hired him. While working for NATIONAL REVIEW, Leonard met Whittaker Chambers and was sent to newly Communist Cuba—experiences that inoculated him against sheer fellow traveling, even when he came to be literary editor of *The Nation*. Leonard's prose was gaudy, gushing, bursting at the seams; he, even more than Tom Wolfe, was the late-20th-century custodian of the tumbling sentence of H. L. Mencken. When he came, odd man out, to NATIONAL REVIEW functions, he impressed everyone with his sweetness and humor. Dead at 69. R.I.P.

■ Michael Crichton was a wildly successful novelist because he told stories well. Yet he was more than an entertainer. His books grappled with a series of difficult questions—everything from genetic engineering (*Jurassic Park*) and nanotechnology (*Prey*) to airline safety (*Airframe*) and the media and sexual harassment (*Disclosure*). His 2004 novel *State of Fear* drove the Left batty: It depicted global-warming doomsayers as secular zealots motivated by anything but a sincere concern for environmental conservation. Crichton was no conservative, but his willingness to challenge the sacred covenants of liberalism often allowed him to join the Right in common cause. Dead of cancer at the age of 66. R.I.P.

THE ELECTION

Hope amid the Ruins

ALL Americans should hope that President-elect Barack Obama's time in office will redound to the country's long-term benefit. The odds are nonetheless against it. Liberals will soon be in the driver's seat in Washington in a way they have not been since the days of the Great Society. The Democratic majority in Congress will be about the same size as the one that greeted President Clinton in 1993, but much more homogeneously liberal.

Yet the public has not embraced many of the central aspects of liberalism. This may explain why, while Obama's record and positions put him well to the left of any president in the last four decades, he is, to judge from his campaign, a man who wants to cut taxes, defend an individual right to own guns, take a hard line on terrorists in Pakistan, reduce the abortion rate, allow people

PRESENTING THE BOSE® WAVE® MUSIC SYSTEM

Acclaimed Bose sound.

Enjoy it more with the optional Multi-CD Changer.

CD
SHUFFLE
10:24 AM
TRACK 6
d2
1:24
BOSE
Disc 2
Disc 3
Disc 4

Shown in Platinum White with optional Multi-CD Changer.

Wayne Thompson,
Oregonian
"…one-of-a-kind… my choice for product of the year."

David Novak,
The Gadget Guy
"It can easily replace whatever component system you currently have…"

Rich Warren,
News-Gazette
"…the Wave Music System will flat out seduce you."

Shown in
NEW TITANIUM SILVER.

Listen to the Wave® music system risk free for 30 days. Experience premium sound that sets new standards for an all-in-one system that fits on a shelf or countertop. You'll hear the kind of performance that has made Bose the most respected name in sound. *Forbes FYI* says you'll think you're listening to a "…system that costs five times more." It features an FM/AM digital tuner, clock, alarm and more. And our optional Multi-CD Changer lets you enjoy your music for hours on end. Save $50 if you order them together by December 31, 2008. So choose your favorite color: Platinum White, Graphite Gray or new Titanium Silver. And try it with our 30-day Excitement Guarantee. When you call, ask about using your own major credit card to make **12 easy payments,** with no interest charges from Bose.*

SAVE $50
when you order the Wave® music system with our Multi-CD Changer by December 31, 2008.

To order or learn more:
1-800-925-9738, ext. TM863
www.Bose.com/WMS

BOSE®
Better sound through research®

*Bose payment plan available on orders of $299-$1500 paid by major credit card. Separate financing offers may be available for select products. See website for details. Down payment is 1/12 the product price plus applicable tax and shipping charges, charged when your order is shipped. Then, your credit card will be billed for 11 equal monthly installments beginning approximately one month from the date your order is shipped, with 0% APR and no interest charges from Bose. Credit card rules and interest may apply. U.S. residents only. Limit one active financing program per customer. ©2008 Bose Corporation. Patent rights issued and/or pending. The Wave® music system's distinctive design is also a registered trademark of Bose Corporation. Financing and reduced pricing on Multi-CD Changer package not to be combined with other offers or applied to previous purchases, and subject to change without notice. If the Wave® music system is returned, the Multi-CD Changer must be returned for a full refund. Purchases must be made from a Bose authorized reseller to qualify for offer. Offer valid 11/1/08-12/31/08. Quotes reprinted with permission: Thomas Jackson, *Forbes FYI*, Winter/04.

to stay in their health-care plans, and keep trade free. Polls suggest that he was wise to run in this fashion: The public remains as skeptical about federal activism and social liberalism as it has been for years.

The public has, however, clearly rejected the Republican party in its present configuration. It is always difficult for a party to maintain control of the White House after two terms in office. But both President Bush and Senator McCain made the task harder. Bush took too long to change course in Iraq and botched the response to Hurricane Katrina. McCain rarely stuck to one message or strategy. The financial crisis, for which we do not primarily blame either man, sealed the party's fate.

But Republicans have been so unpopular for so long, and their failure has been so sweeping, that it is a mistake to dwell too long on the flaws of specific men or the consequences of particular events. Neither Bush nor McCain nor congressional Republicans gave much sign that they understood the frustrations that average Americans have felt over the last few years toward the economy and Washington, let alone that they had solutions. The exit polls demonstrate this failure again and again: in questions about which party and candidates voters consider the most sympathetic to regular people, in questions about who would do best for the economy, in the breakdown of the vote by income.

Senator McCain's principal economic message concerned spending and, more narrowly still, earmarks. Any winning conservative candidate would have to mention those themes. But he would also have to do what McCain did not, which was to link those issues to a bigger story about how government can hurt or help people as they seek to achieve their aspirations. Had McCain done more of this work early, he would have had credibility with the middle class when the financial crisis hit—and his attacks on Obama's radical associations would have had added punch because he would have established his solidarity with the great American middle.

Obituaries for conservatism are premature. Conservatives believe that American interests and values are threatened by familial instability, runaway government, and weakness and confusion in foreign policy. Those convictions will retain serious political strength for as long as they are rooted in reality. The contemporary conservative vocation is to breathe new life into them.

Conservatives should be willing to work with the Democrats in Washington when appropriate—assuming the Democrats are interested in having their help—but should be no more mealy-mouthed, apologetic, or timorous than the Democrats were after the 2004 election. In the months to come, when Democrats misread the election as a mandate for liberalism—and particularly when they betray the explicit and implicit commitments Obama made during this campaign—Republicans should do everything they can to drive the point home, less in hopes of changing legislative outcomes than of moving voters in advance of 2010 and 2012.

Recriminations have their place, and we look forward to a lively debate among conservatives about our future. But our most urgent task is not to second-guess decisions that were made in 2003, 2005, or 2008. It is to devise an agenda—on health care, on taxes, on transportation, on energy—that Americans in the middle of the income distribution believe will serve their interests. If we can do that, we will not be, as so many pundits have said, at the end of a conservative era, but at the midpoint between two such eras. Success will require a great deal of wit. We will, alas, have plenty of time.

THE ELECTION II

Watershed

To understand what a watershed Barack Obama's election was, one need only compare him with his predecessors. George Washington owned slaves; so, for a time, did Ulysses Grant. Woodrow Wilson showed *Birth of a Nation*, pro-Klan propaganda, in the White House. Warren Harding's enemies claimed that he was part black (Harding, to his credit, was unfazed by the rumor). Every World War II veteran who won the White House—from General Eisenhower to Lieutenant Bush—served in a segregated military. The belief in equal rights that lies at the heart of our nation's founding extended to African Americans—Thomas Jefferson, who owned hundreds of them and (probably) slept with one of them, so understood it—but reality lagged for most of our history.

In our lifetime, individual blacks have risen to the top in numerous fields—arts, entertainment, business, government, the military. Winning the White House is a symbol of consolidated social progress. But symbols matter; there are no historical placemats of secretaries of state. Even Americans who did not support Obama can feel proud for their country in the wake of his election.

Obama's victory means different things to different supporters. Black Americans—including those, like Obama himself, who have no family experience of American slavery, and hardly even personal experience of racism—feel justified solidarity. Obama's white supporters are a bit harder to take. For them, he is an almost cultic healer of all ills, and their own psyches. The least irksome of these are the first-time voters who responded with the ardor of youth to a historical moment they can barely grasp.

A watershed fills one river. Obama's victory stands out in the history of important American elections for having little ideological content. Other transformative presidents, from Jefferson to Ronald Reagan, came to office with new ideas they intended to put into practice. Obama's litany of hope and change was notably vague; his parochial and radical past is a long way from his moderate campaign atmospherics. How he gets from one to the other will be one of the dramas of his administration.

There will be attempts, no doubt from Obama himself, to make the narrative of racial fulfillment cover all cases. Media censors, who have been in the tank for Obama since at least January, will continue their handiwork. All efforts to stifle the ordinary give and take of politics must be resisted. America is in two wars and a financial crisis; such ideas as Candidate Obama expressed were mostly mistaken. History has been made; now the work begins.

*Introducing the world's simplest cell phone experience – with service as low as $10 a month**

It doesn't play games, take pictures, or give you the weather.

NEW

No Contract

The Jitterbug® developed with Samsung®.
It's the cell phone that's changing all the rules.

For people like me, who want a cell phone that's easy to use. Over the years, cell phones have become smaller and smaller with so many complicated features. They are harder to program and harder to use. But the Jitterbug® cell phone has simplified everything, so it's not only easy to use, it's easy to try. No crowded malls, no waiting in line, no confusing sales people, or complicated plans. Affordable and convenient cell phone service is only a toll-free phone call away.

The new Jitterbug® cell phone makes calling simple!

- Large, bright, easy to see display and buttons
- Comes pre-programmed and ready to use right out of the box
- No contract required
- An operator is always available to help you, and will call you by name
- Push "Yes" to call directly from your personal phone list
- Soft ear cushion and louder volume for better sound quality
- Separate Volume Up/Down button on cover of phone
- Hearing aid compatible
- Familiar dial tone confirms service (no other cell phone has this)
- Service as low as $10 a month*
- Access help wherever you go

SAMSUNG
888-
779-
5889
Call?
on/off
YES
NO

Full Dial Phone available in Graphite and White.

Why pay for minutes you'll never use!

	Simple 30 Plan[†]	Simple 60 Plan[†]
Monthly Price	$15.00	$20.00
Included Minutes/Month	30	60
Operator Assistance	24/7	24/7
911 Access	FREE	FREE
Long Distance Calls	No add'l charge	No add'l charge
Nationwide Coverage[††]	Yes	Yes
Trial Period	30 days	30 days

Available in a simple 12-button Dial phone and an even simpler 3-button OneTouch phone for easy access to the operator, the number of your choice, and 911.

Service as low as $10 a month and a friendly 30-day return policy.** If you've ever wanted the security and convenience of a cell phone, but never wanted the fancy features and minutes you don't need… Jitterbug® is for you. Like me, you'll soon be telling your friends about Jitterbug®. Call now.

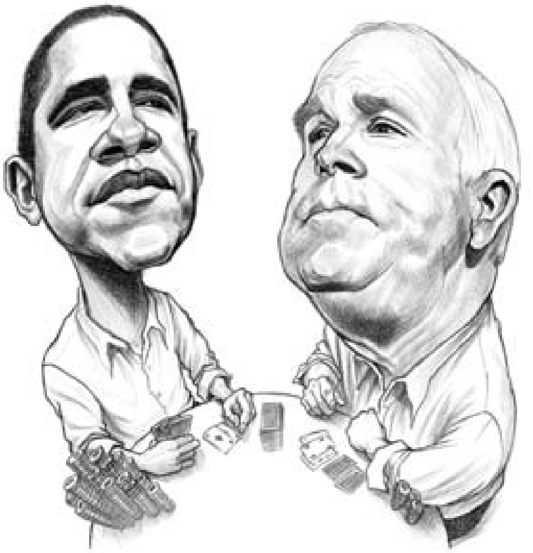
jitterbug brought to you by firstSTREET for Boomers and Beyond®

1998 Ruffin Mill Road
Colonial Heights, VA 23834

Jitterbug® Cell Phone Item# BU-4722
Call now for our lowest price.
Please mention promotional code 37170.
1-888-779-5889
www.firststreetonline.com

IMPORTANT CONSUMER INFORMATION: Subject to Customer Agreement, select calling plans, and credit approval. Other charges and restrictions may apply. Screen images simulated. Coverage and service not available everywhere. Copyright © GreatCall, Inc. Jitterbug and GreatCall are trademarks of GreatCall, Inc. Samsung is a registered trademark of Samsung Electronics America, Inc and its related entities. *Not including government taxes, assessment surcharges, and set-up fee. **Applies to phone and monthly service charges only, provided call time usage is less than 30 minutes and phone is in like-new condition. Usage charges may apply. †All plans require the purchase of a Jitterbug phone. In addition, there is a one time set up fee of $35. ††Jitterbug will work almost everywhere in the U.S. where cellular service is available from most of the major carriers.

47322 All rights reserved. © 2007 TechnoBrands®, Inc.



Why McCain Lost

The Republican nominee played his bad hand badly

RAMESH PONNURU

In the first grim days after the Democratic blowout, three overlapping schools of thought emerged: No Republican could have won this year; McCain lost because he was the type of moderate who can never make the party's best case; and McCain lost because he was trying to appeal to the conservative base of the party rather than swing voters. There is no need to choose among these explanations: All are true. Each problem reinforced the others.

"Headwinds" was the Republican strategist's cliché of the year, and they were indeed fierce. Even if President Bush had been popular and the economy been good, there would have been time-for-a-change sentiment after eight years of a Republican president. But of course Bush has been very unpopular for a very long time. He became unpopular for a lot of reasons, but a few stand out. The discovery that Iraq had no weapons of mass destruction hurt his credibility. For the first three years of the occupation, he insisted that we stay the course while the public came to believe, correctly, that we were losing. Similarly, Republicans insisted that the economy was fine even as wages stagnated. And Bush was widely blamed, fairly or not, for the botched handling of Hurricane Katrina.

The financial crisis created another headwind: The public was bound to blame the party in charge of the White House for it. These conditions made it extremely difficult, and perhaps impossible, for Republicans to hold on to the White House this year even while up against an inexperienced and liberal Democratic presidential nominee.

The type of campaign McCain ran eliminated whatever chance he may have had left. Liberals spent the fall pretending that it was the nastiest campaign ever, in part to justify their own abandonment of the senator, over whom they had previously fawned, for Obama. Almost all of the McCain campaign's attacks on Obama were fair game, as were a few it did not make. (If McCain thought that keeping silent about the Rev. Jeremiah Wright would protect him from charges of racism, he rather badly misjudged.) But the campaign lacked substance, particularly on domestic policy, which neither McCain nor his running mate, Alaska governor Sarah Palin, seemed particularly interested in or knowledgeable about.

While McCain's campaign rarely stuck to any message for very long, federal spending was a policy issue about which McCain did get passionate. His central economic message for most of the campaign was that he could be trusted to control spending. Most voters would like the federal government to spend less in general (while favoring spending more on nearly every specific program any politician proposes). But spending cuts will not lead to any direct improvement in middle-class Americans' well-being, and McCain never even bothered to argue that it would help them in the long run.

Much of the time McCain made an even narrower argument: He would eliminate earmarks from the federal budget. A lot of conservatives have come to hate earmarks in principle. Their elimination is not, however, a major priority of most voters.

For the most part, McCain adopted the most unimaginative possible Republican agenda on taxes: Keep the Bush tax cuts, and throw in a reduction in corporate tax rates too. There was not much for the middle class there, especially since the Democrats had already pledged to keep Bush's middle-class tax cuts. McCain gave Obama the opportunity to present himself as a tax reformer for the middle class.

When McCain had proposals that could appeal to middle-class voters, he never made anything of them. His health-care plan would have made insurance more affordable, increased coverage, and given individuals more control and, especially, the ability to take their insurance with them from job to job rather than depending on their employers. But McCain rarely explained the plan's benefits or defended it against Obama's many misleading attack ads. In the middle of the fall campaign, the senator's aides made major changes to the plan, as though to emphasize how lightly they took the whole issue. His tax plan would have increased the tax exemption for children. But neither McCain nor his aides presented his proposals as a program to help the middle class, and indeed McCain repeatedly bungled his descriptions of the tax exemption. The McCain campaign wasted the months between the effective end of the Republican primaries and the end of the Democratic ones. What if McCain had spent that time establishing himself as someone who would fight for reforms to benefit the middle class? Had McCain run on a middle-class tax reform, for example, he would have simultaneous-

ISMAEL ROLDAN

ly separated himself from Bush on economic policy, addressed his party's longstanding weakness on domestic issues, and made more voters feel that he sympathized with their concerns.

In his bestseller *What's the Matter with Kansas?* left-wing author Thomas Frank argued that Republicans had won a generation's worth of elections by using contrived cultural controversies to distract the working class from the way their policies were immiserating it. It has been remarked that at times this fall the McCain campaign felt like a parody of Frank's thesis. When his campaign brought up Obama's ties to the terrorist Bill Ayers, liberals suggested that McCain was obsessing about the '60s while the economy was melting down.

What they failed to note is that McCain's campaign disproved Frank's thesis. Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush succeeded by appealing both to voters' values and to their interests. If the median voter had seen McCain as a protector of her interests, it would have been easier to get her to see Obama as out of the mainstream. On their own, however, these attacks were not capable of winning an election.

When the financial crisis hit, McCain carried a triple burden: He was in the incumbent's party, his economic platform strongly resembled the incumbent's, and he had done nothing to make middle-class voters consider him an answer to their anxieties. He then briefly suspended his campaign and tried to cancel the first presidential debate while he went to Washington to work on a financial-rescue bill. It was an act of considerable folly. McCain had no particular economic expertise, and there was no reason to think he would be able to deliver a deal. He reinforced his image as an erratic showboat at the worst possible time.

Some conservatives have suggested that McCain should instead have voted against the financial-rescue bill, taking up the populist cause against Wall Street bailouts. That course of action would have separated McCain from Bush pretty dramatically, but it might also have looked reckless, particularly if McCain had sunk the bill and the markets had nosedived. McCain was never going to take this advice in any case. He had made a second career out of bucking his party in favor of conventional wisdom; he was not about to buck both.

According to the exit polls, voters whose top issue was the economy went for Obama over McCain by 9 percentage points. Worse, 60 percent of voters concluded that McCain was not in touch with people like them—and 79 percent of those people voted against him. Those voters alone put Obama very close to victory: He had to win over a mere 6 percent of the voters who considered McCain "in touch."

Governor Palin's vice-presidential candidacy ended up conforming to every bad pattern the McCain campaign had set. Once again there was no follow-through. If her selection made any sense, it was as a way of underscoring that McCain was a fresh-thinking reformer willing to take on his own party when appropriate, as she had done. After the selection, however, no further attempts were made to develop that theme, and Palin was placed in the traditional veep-candidate role of attack dog, specializing in cultural attacks on the elitist Democrats. She was not the first, second, or third most important reason McCain's campaign failed, but she illustrated those reasons.

Because McCain's campaign was so weak on the issues, he would have had no mandate if he had won. He would have been elected not to be an inexperienced coddler of radicals. He had not pledged to veto any attempts to raise taxes or nationalize health care, and so a Democratic Congress would have considered every policy up for grabs. A stronger McCain candidacy, even if it had still lost, might at least have placed limits on what Obama can do in office. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that McCain's campaign accomplished nothing other than to determine the floor on opposition to Obama.

Nonetheless it would be a mistake to look at McCain's errors in isolation from those of his party. Democrats made big gains in the House and Senate, too, and not all of the victorious Democrats were clutching Obama's coattails. In Virginia, North Carolina, and New Mexico, Democratic Senate candidates ran ahead of Obama. Democrats did so well because much of McCain's weakness on domestic policy (along with some of his uninterest in it) is shared by his party.

McCain's status as a maverick would have made it harder for him to address that weakness even had he been inclined to do so. At first blush it may seem paradoxical that George W. Bush was able to establish himself with swing voters as "a different kind of Republican" in 2000 while the maverick senator failed to do so. But it was the fact that most Republicans were comfortable with Bush already that allowed him to move the party in new directions.

McCain was the wrong kind of maverick. He departed from party orthodoxy on issues that did not win him votes. Many people thought more highly of McCain because he sponsored campaign-finance reform and favored greater funding for embryonic-stem-cell research (or would have if they had known about it). But not many people base their votes on those issues.

Because McCain's heterodoxies caused the base to distrust him, however, they limited his room to maneuver on other issues. If McCain had been a down-the-line conservative, he would have been able to get away with adjusting the party's message to match the times. The old war hero might not even have had serious competition in the primary: It was his weakness with the Right that made it possible for Mitt Romney, Rudolph Giuliani, and the rest to think they had shots.

For a party to change, either it must be so desperate for power that the need for change is accepted from its top to its bottom, or its leadership class must agree on a new direction and have the power to force it through. Neither condition applied to the Republican party of 2008. Rank-and-file Republican voters, accustomed to holding power, were not ready to change their approach. A wide-open multi-candidate field led all the primary candidates to pander to them. So the primary contest often boiled down to who could do the most convincing impression of Ronald Reagan circa 1979. Discovering new policies (or new ways of talking about old policies) that might unite the center and Right was not anywhere near the top of the agenda. McCain assembled a center-Right coalition that was capable of eking out a plurality in the Republican party. But he could not devise a way of broadening his appeal to independents while holding on to conservatives. Having won the nomination, the maverick found himself unable, based on his own temperament and his position within the party, to lead.

In short, Republicans had a bad hand, and played it badly. **NR**

In the Snake Pit

The sad end of the McCain campaign

RICHARD LOWRY

EVERY losing presidential campaign is, to paraphrase Tolstoy, unhappy in its own way. But the McCain campaign in its final days risked descending into political opera buffa. A few days after the election, McCain aides were telling reporters different things about whether longtime McCain foreign-policy adviser Randy Scheunemann had been fired in the campaign's final week.

Thus was the sad, sloppy end of the McCain campaign. It had punched above its weight in August and into early September. Then the financial crisis hit, and it spent a dreary month and a half slogging toward an almost inevitable defeat made all the more inglorious by the incredible acrimony around vice-presidential nominee Sarah Palin.

Talking to former aides about basic events surrounding Palin, you're struck by how often people contradict one another and say, "That's a lie" or "That's bullsh**." The other phrase you'll hear frequently about the end of the campaign is "I am just trying to keep my head down." The old joke about the Democrats is that they form a circular firing squad after losing elections. The McCain campaign may have formed a circular firing squad, but can't agree on who fired first, where the guns came from, and who should or shouldn't have paid for them.

The campaign won the Republican nomination with a minimal operation not up to the rigors of a general election but in keeping with McCain's ramshackle style. It wasn't until July, when former Bush aide Steve Schmidt took over daily operations at headquarters, that the campaign tightened up. "We couldn't operate a TelePrompTer properly," one aide recalls. "There was no message. It was technically incompetent. We had just 35 people on staff, facing a juggernaut, with the feeling that it was a virtue that we had only 35 people."

Things got better, but the campaign was always run by committee. "McCain made all the decisions," says strategist Charlie Black, "and there were four, five, six people he wanted to hear from." Those included Schmidt, Black, campaign manager Rick Davis, longtime McCain speechwriter Mark Salter, and McCain's two amigos from the Senate, Lindsey Graham and Joe Lieberman.

This decision-making structure could never achieve the status of the well-oiled machinery of, say, Bush '04 or Obama this year. "There's not a lot of strong management in McCain World," says one experienced McCain hand, "and there never has been." Most McCain staff seemed to accept logistical snafus and organizational dysfunction as a given.

The campaign made a few key decisions. It decided to keep McCain away from a press that turned hostile once he became the Republican nominee. In the media's telling, this is one of the reasons the campaign was unworthy of McCain and made him an uncharacteristically unhappy warrior. Not so, say McCain's aides.

"I don't think he was unhappy because he was not talking to the media," says Salter. "Everyone, including the candidate, knew there were two standards in the press." Another top aide agrees: "He knew it. He read everything. I told him, 'Go to your room at night and watch ESPN. Don't watch MSNBC. Why are you watching Keith Olbermann's show?'"

A McCain interview with James Carney and Michael Scherer of *Time* magazine in August, in which McCain barely responded to the questions, has been widely interpreted as a sign of his distress at being separated from his former buds. Rick Davis says it is nonsense: "He didn't want to do that interview—he thought they were being jerks."

In August, the campaign hit Obama with the famous celebrity ads that were panned in the press but were, according to Davis, the only thing that ever dented Obama's favorable ratings. In retrospect, the celeb spots were relatively gentle. The natural follow-on, once they established doubt about Obama, would have been hits on his associations with Bill Ayers and the Rev. Jeremiah Wright.

"We absolutely should have done that," says one top aide, "but there was no appetite to do that. McCain gave Obama the biggest pass in the history of politics. The Reverend Wright was delegitimized as an issue because of McCain's actions"—i.e., condemning the North Carolina Republican party in April for running an ad using Wright.

With the selection of Palin, brilliantly rolled out the day after the Democratic convention, and the Republican convention, which Bush addressed by satellite and Cheney not at all, the McCain campaign felt it had achieved three goals that were in tension: creating distance from Bush, exciting the base, and reestablishing McCain's maverick brand. The aftermath would turn out to be the Indian summer of the McCain campaign, when it briefly led Obama. Until September 15.

Lehman Brothers went down, the financial system began to tank, and Paulson asked for his $700 billion. The package's prospects were uncertain in Congress, and Harry Reid said McCain had to deliver Republicans. "All the economic advisers and Mitt Romney said something had to pass or people wouldn't be able to get money out of their ATMs," Salter recalls. The high command decided to suspend the campaign and send McCain to Washington.

It wasn't clear what he would do there. "We were marching into a lion's den in Washington," says one McCain aide, "and the generals didn't consider how calamitous the situation was. No two days were more important than those two days, and we lost them."

"We didn't do our homework with House Republicans, who didn't want to support the bill," says another aide. "Originally McCain was against it," one top aide explains of the bailout. "But he didn't want to tank the markets. In retrospect, he probably should have voted against it."

Steve Schmidt remembers flying on Palin's plane watching the bill go down to defeat while Republicans implausibly blamed their votes on a Nancy Pelosi speech as "the most surreal moment of my political career." In an understatement, Salter concludes of the suspension gambit: "As it turned out, it didn't work too well."

The week after the Lehman collapse, the campaign suffered another disaster:

Understand the Fun and Beauty in Mathematical Concepts

Discover How to Think Precisely, Decisively, and Creatively in 24 Fascinating Lectures

Humans have been having fun and games with mathematics for thousands of years. Along the way, they've discovered the amazing utility of this field—in science, engineering, finance, games of chance, and many other aspects of life.

Join Professor Arthur T. Benjamin to experience **The Joy of Mathematics** in this course of 24 half-hour lectures. He is nationally renowned for feats of mental calculation performed before audiences at schools, theaters, museums, conferences, and other venues, and he shows you that there are simple tricks that allow anyone to look like a "mathemagician."

Professor Benjamin has another goal in this course: Throughout the lectures, he shows how everything in mathematics is connected—how the beautiful and often imposing discipline that has given us algebra, geometry, calculus, probability, and so much else is based on nothing more than fooling around with numbers.

Have You Forgotten Math? Worry Not!

Professor Benjamin gives his presentation on the number 9 in—what else?—Lecture 9. Other lectures are devoted to pi, the imaginary number *i*, the transcendental number *e*, and infinity. These numbers are gateways to intriguing realms of mathematics, which you explore under Dr. Benjamin's enthusiastic guidance.

He also introduces you to prime numbers, Fibonacci numbers, and infinite series. And you investigate the powerful techniques for manipulating numbers using algebra, geometry, trigonometry, calculus, and probability in lectures that may hark back to subjects you studied in high school and college.

A Math Course Designed for You

© Masterfile

You will find Dr. Benjamin's introduction to these fields both a useful refresher and a bird's-eye view of the most important areas of mathematics. He approaches these topics from a new perspective—*combinatorics*—and mathematical games, providing a fun entry into subjects that are often taught in a lackluster way.

About Our Sale Price Policy

Why is the sale price for this course so much lower than its standard price? Every course we make goes on sale at least once a year. Producing large quantities of only the sale courses keeps costs down and allows us to pass the savings on to you. This also enables us to fill your order immediately: 99% of all orders placed by 2 pm eastern time ship that same day. Order before January 12, 2009, to receive these savings.

Dr. Benjamin assumes you have no more than a distant memory of high school math. He believes that it is his job to fan those embers into a burning interest in the subject he loves so much—and in which he takes such exquisite joy.

About Your Professor

Dr. Arthur T. Benjamin is Professor of Mathematics at Harvey Mudd College, where he has taught since 1989. He earned a Ph.D. in Mathematical Sciences from Johns Hopkins University. The Mathematical Association of America honored him with national awards for distinguished teaching in 1999 and 2000 and named him the George Pólya Lecturer for 2006–2008.

About The Teaching Company®

We review hundreds of top-rated professors from America's best colleges and universities each year. From this extraordinary group, we choose only those rated highest by panels of our customers. Fewer than 10% of these world-class scholar-teachers are selected to make The Great Courses®.

We've been doing this since 1990, producing more than 3,000 hours of material in modern and ancient history, philosophy, literature, fine arts, the sciences, and mathematics for intelligent, engaged, adult lifelong learners. If a course is ever less than completely satisfying, you may exchange it for another, or we will refund your money promptly.

Lecture Titles

1. The Joy of Math—The Big Picture
2. The Joy of Numbers
3. The Joy of Primes
4. The Joy of Counting
5. The Joy of Fibonacci Numbers
6. The Joy of Algebra
7. The Joy of Higher Algebra
8. The Joy of Algebra Made Visual
9. The Joy of 9
10. The Joy of Proofs
11. The Joy of Geometry
12. The Joy of Pi
13. The Joy of Trigonometry
14. The Joy of the Imaginary Number *i*
15. The Joy of the Number *e*
16. The Joy of Infinity
17. The Joy of Infinite Series
18. The Joy of Differential Calculus
19. The Joy of Approximating with Calculus
20. The Joy of Integral Calculus
21. The Joy of Pascal's Triangle
22. The Joy of Probability
23. The Joy of Mathematical Games
24. The Joy of Mathematical Magic

THE TEACHING COMPANY®
The Joy of Lifelong Learning Every Day™
GREAT PROFESSORS, GREAT COURSES, GREAT VALUE GUARANTEED.™

SAVE $185!
OFFER GOOD UNTIL JANUARY 12, 2009

1-800-TEACH-12 (1-800-832-2412)
Fax: 703-378-3819

Special offer is available online at
www.TEACH12.com/8natr

The Great Courses
THE TEACHING COMPANY
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, VA 20151-1232

Priority Code 31973

Please send me **The Joy of Mathematics**, which consists of twenty-four 30-minute lectures plus Course Guidebooks.

☐ **DVD $69.95** (std. price $254.95) **SAVE $185!**
plus $10 shipping, processing, and Lifetime Satisfaction Guarantee

☐ **Check or Money Order Enclosed**

* Non-U.S. Orders: Additional shipping charges apply.
For more details, call us or visit the FAQ page on our website.

** Virginia residents please add 5% sales tax.

Charge my credit card:

☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ DISCOVER NOVUS ☐ Cards

ACCOUNT NUMBER EXP. DATE

SIGNATURE

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

MAILING ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

PHONE *(If we have questions regarding your order—required for international orders)*

☐ **FREE CATALOG.** Please send me a free copy of your current catalog (no purchase necessary).

Special offer is available online at www.TEACH12.com/8natr
Offer Good Through: January 12, 2009

Palin's cringe-makingly bad Katie Couric interview, which was worse than her barely adequate Charlie Gibson interview. Her performance stoked the dissension over her, and her handling, that would later burst embarrassingly into the open.

"From the beginning, it was dysfunctional," one McCain aide says of the campaign's Palin operation. Palin was handed a bunch of advisers who had no connection to her, very little connection to McCain World, and, in the case of her new chief-of-staff (a friend of Schmidt's), no experience in national politics. Another McCain adviser remembers being unable from the outset to get a straight answer from the staff on whether Palin had gone into Iraq when she visited the Alaska National Guard on deployment.

Palin's defenders within the campaign blame the media strategy for her interview troubles: Why were two skeptical-to-hostile network anchors given hours with Palin in interviews that were high-stakes affairs where every word mattered because she was basically doing no other media? "Do you remember how many days we spent parsing her answers on Charlie Gibson?" asks one aide.

But a defender of the rollout strategy counters, "They were standard long-form network interviews. We gave *60 Minutes* two hours with McCain." This aide claims that prior to the Couric interview, "She would not prepare, she didn't want to." Other aides dispute that. What Rick Davis says is: "She was under the impression the Couric thing was going to be easier than it was," expecting a softer interview from a woman journalist. She also had a hectic schedule in New York, packed with meetings with foreign leaders at the U.N., making intense preparation impossible.

Two things aren't in doubt. One, she showed up as the VP nominee with minimal knowledge of national and international affairs, making her introduction on the national stage tricky business. "We were dumping an awful lot on her in a very short period of time," says the foreign-policy aide assigned to her, Steve Biegun. The first day Biegun and Randy Scheunemann briefed her at the convention, they spent eleven hours with her. And two, she lost confidence in her media handlers.

Of the Couric interview, in which Palin muffed even easy questions, a pro-Palin aide says, "Look, she choked," attributing it to her communications team's undermining her confidence. "The Couric interview destroyed her. Did she stop listening to us? Of course she did."

There had been a dispute over how to prepare Palin, at least in the telling of McCain aides sympathetic to her. The communications staff wanted to push the policy staff out of the way and brief her with talking points. The policy people wanted to explain to her McCain's positions on the issues so that she'd come to understand them and then let her come up with the language to explain them on her own.

The communications team seemed to consider her uneducable, while the policy team—aides like Biegun and Scheunemann—was impressed by her. "It's the difference between considering her someone who lacks knowledge and someone who is incompetent, and they treated her as the latter," says an internal critic of her handling.

Palin's fans back at headquarters thought she should have taken control of her own destiny much sooner. "She would have been better served," says a McCain aide impressed with Palin, "if she had asked for a couple of people to be removed from her traveling staff."

The clothes fiasco blew everything up. The Politico reported that the campaign had spent $150,000 on clothes. Aides close to Palin say she was mortified and had no idea how much the bill for her clothes had been. Fred Barnes reported on Fox (before retracting the next day) that Nicolle Wallace, a senior aide assigned to Palin, had bought the clothes on her own credit card. McCain aides close to Wallace said it was a bum rap and Wallace was getting thrown under the bus for Palin's profligacy.

What happened with the clothes? "We flew her out from Alaska to Arizona to Ohio to introduce her to the world and take control of her life," says Rick Davis. "She didn't think 'Dress for the convention,' because it might have just been a nice daytrip to Arizona if she didn't click with John. We got her a gal from New York and we thought, 'Let's get some clothes for her and the family.' It was a failure of management not to get better control and keep track of that. The right hand didn't know what the left hand was doing, what it was worth, or where it was going. It was more our responsibility than hers."

She was sequestered at her hotel during the convention and couldn't have gone out to buy clothes if she had wanted to. One Palin aide recalls going into her suite and seeing a seamstress clattering away on a sewing machine and people walking around with racks of clothes.

"She was under the impression she was supposed to do what the campaign told her to do," says the pro-Palin aide. "They brought in the clothes and told her, 'Money is no object.' She had serious concerns about wearing such expensive clothes. She was told, 'It's fine. It's fine.' Her mistake was she didn't stand up to the people around her."

Newsweek's post-election story had Palin herself allegedly buying clothes from Saks Fifth Avenue and Neiman Marcus. "Everything is going to come out," says a Wallace defender cryptically, adding that the hostile stories on the clothes are "more true than not."

Around this time, quotes showed up calling Palin a "diva" and a "whack job," which the pro-Palin faction attributed to the pro-Wallace faction. The pro-Wallace faction, on the other hand, thought the campaign was being undermined by Palin defenders questioning the campaign's workings. It got so poisonous that the top echelon of the campaign searched through internal e-mails the last week of the election. Randy Scheunemann was discovered to have sent an e-mail to Bill Kristol defending Palin and complaining about her handling.

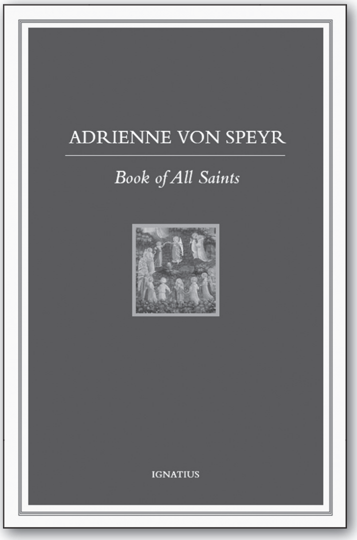
Schmidt subsequently told people Scheunemann had been fired. But Scheunemann maintains he was never fired. "If you're fired, it's common to have someone say, 'You're fired.' No one told me that," he says. A sympathizer agrees: "Schmidt was overruled by Rick Davis." Whatever happened, Scheunemann continued to work in the office and help put out foreign-policy statements. Then Schmidt took another run at him, and his e-mail was cut off.

Rick Davis says, "Schmidt never fired anybody and there was no overruling. He never spoke to Randy in that period of time. Randy Scheunemann was not fired. His e-mail was cut off and put back on."

Randy Scheunemann is a veteran

MYSTICAL INSIGHTS ON HOW SAINTS PRAY

"*The Book of All Saints* IS A WONDERFUL GIFT TO THE CHURCH BECAUSE IT SHOWS US HOW THE SAINTS PRAY AND BECAUSE IT INVITES US — BY CONTAGION, AS IT WERE — TO PRAY OURSELVES." — **Hans Urs von Balthasar**



"I received far more from Adrienne theologically than she did from me. As her confessor for twenty seven years I never had the least doubt about the authentic mission in the Church that was hers. Her works are far more important than mine. I am convinced that when her works are made available that others will concur with me about their value and will thank God that He has granted such graces to the Church in our time."
— Hans Urs von Balthasar

▪▪▪

"Von Speyr was one of the great Catholic converts of the twentieth century. Her great passion was what might be called "the thirst for catholicity" — the unreserved, joyful adherence to all the teachings of the Church and the attitude of total surrender to the Truth. "
— Adrian Walker, Ph.D.,
Professor of Theology, John Paul II Institute

BOOK OF ALL SAINTS — Adrienne von Speyr

This extraordinary book presents the unique mystical insights of Adrienne von Speyr into the prayer lives of many saints and other holy people throughout Church history who struggled to place their lives at the disposal of their Creator. Among the long list of saints in this compelling work whose prayer lives we get a glimpse of are **St. Augustine, St. Francis, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Ignatius of Loyola, St. Teresa of Avila, St. John of the Cross, St. John Bosco, St. Bernadette, St. Dominic, St. Edith Stein** and dozens more.

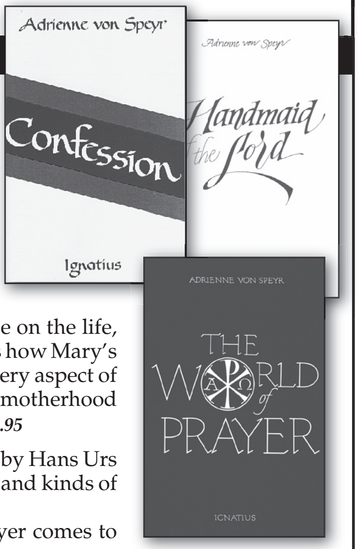
Von Speyr, a renowned mystic and spiritual writer from Switzerland, was received into the Church at the age of 38 on the Feast of All Saints, 1940, by one of the theological giants of the 20th century, Fr. Hans Urs von Balthasar. He became her spiritual director and confessor until her death in 1967. During those years Adrienne was favored with many gifts of authentic mystical prayer.

Over a period of many years Adrienne would actually see the saints at prayer. She dictated what she saw to Fr. von Balthasar while she was in a state of mystical prayer. By a unique charism, Adrienne's was able to put herself in the place of various saints and individuals to see and describe their prayer, their whole attitude before God.

Von Balthasar believed that one of the central characteristics of Adrienne's prayer life was her transparency to the inspirations she received from God, and her deep personal communion with the saints.

BAS1-H . . . 430 pp, Sewn Hardcover, $24.95

OTHER BOOKS BY VON SPEYR



CONFESSION - Hans Urs von Balthasar calls this "one of her most central works". She discusses the moral and practical aspects of the sacrament in depth. Some of the many areas covered include conversion, scruples, the confessions of religious and lay people, even the confessions of saints. One of the most complete spiritual treatises ever written on confession.
CONF-P . . . 262 pp, Sewn Softcover, $14.95

HANDMAID OF THE LORD - Von Speyr's masterpiece on the life, attitude, and prayer of the Mother of God. She shows how Mary's assent to God's will is what defines and sanctifies every aspect of her life. New insights into Mary's role of spiritual motherhood for all mankind. *HML-P . . . 202 pp, Sewn Softcover, $12.95*

THE WORLD OF PRAYER - In this major work, edited by Hans Urs von Balthasar, Adrienne discusses the many aspects and kinds of prayer, the vocation of every Christian.

The fundamental theme of this work is that prayer comes to man through God's self-revelation in Christ. *WP-P . . . 430 pp, Sewn Softcover, $14.95*

FOR MORE INFORMATION: WWW.BOOKOFALLSAINTS.COM

WWW.IGNATIUS.COM

ignatius press P.O. Box 1339, Ft. Collins, CO 80522 **1 (800) 651-1531**

hang
out
with
the
cool
people
on
the
corner.
every
day.
every
night.
all
day
and
night.
http://
corner.
nationalreview.
com

McCainiac who had stuck with the campaign through its near-death experience in 2007. His ouster would have been extraordinary. "Steve decided he was going to be loyal to Nicolle Wallace no matter what," says the pro-Palin aide, who saw the campaign dividing between Bush hands like Schmidt and Wallace, looking out for their own reputations above all, and the true McCain loyalists. Others see this as unfair. The ultimate McCain loyalist, Mark Salter, says, "Right to the last day, Steve was fighting."

By the end, the fight resembled an academic dispute—so vicious because the stakes were so small. The McCain campaign had descended into . . . about what you'd expect of a McCain campaign. "There was no leadership on this campaign, no adult supervision," says one aide. "Ultimately, it came from the candidate doing his own thing. What was the message of this campaign?" McCain has never reconciled his Goldwater side with his TR side in a consistent approach to policy, and he couldn't overcome his own fundamental lack of interest in economic issues.

On top of it there was the financial cataract, creating a sense of desperation that had McCain floating $300 billion proposals from the seat of his pants. "We were introducing policy stuff in a crude manner," says one aide. Another compares it to getting swept down Grade 5 rapids and trying to get a hold on anything, to no avail. "After the middle of September," Salter says, "it was hard to change the order of things."

After McCain lost, the internal battle continued, with anonymous quotes grossly distorting things Palin had said during the campaign to put her in the worst possible light. Perhaps McCain had deserved to lose, but not this way, with such a pathetic spectacle at the end. "Look," one longtime McCain backer says of Palin and the Bushies who handled her, "she wasn't ready for this, obviously. Their job was to make her ready for this and they failed. So they unloaded on her. If they had an iota of loyalty to John McCain, they wouldn't have done it."

The McCain campaign had found its very own way to be unhappy. Rick Davis remarks, "It's the most juvenile thing I've ever seen. It's inappropriate, uncalled for, and made me sad for our campaign." **NR**

Sarah *Resartus*

Tailoring Palin for the future

ROSS DOUTHAT

THESE are the things that can be said, with some degree of certainty, about the candidacy of Sarah Palin for vice president of the United States. First, that picking her as his running mate was the only thing John McCain did all year that shifted, however temporarily, an unfavorable electoral landscape to his favor. Second, that she gave one of the most successful debut speeches of any candidate for national office in American history, followed by one of the most disastrous prime-time interviews. Third, that the Gibson/Couric debacles, the broader hostility to her candidacy among the chattering classes, and the style in which she campaigned for McCain combined to gradually push her unfavorable numbers up toward levels that took Hillary Clinton and Newt Gingrich years to achieve. Fourth, that she leaves the campaign trail with the affection—even adoration—of many on the right, but lacking the crossover appeal she'll need if she aspires to run for national office again.

Those are the knowns; the list of unknowns is considerably longer. Start with the big question: Did she ultimately help McCain or hurt him? Crunch one set of numbers—her high unfavorables, the polls showing a majority of Americans doubting her readiness to assume the presidency—and it seems that she almost certainly hurt him. But the majority of voters who cited Palin as a major factor in their decision voted for McCain, according to the exit polls, suggesting that she may have turned out more Mac-skeptic Republicans than she turned off independents.

And about those anti-Palin swing voters: Were they turned off mainly by Palin's perceived inexperience and policy fumblings, or did they buy into the media's narrative of the Alaska governor as a redneck Spiro

Mr. Douthat is a senior editor at *The Atlantic*.

★

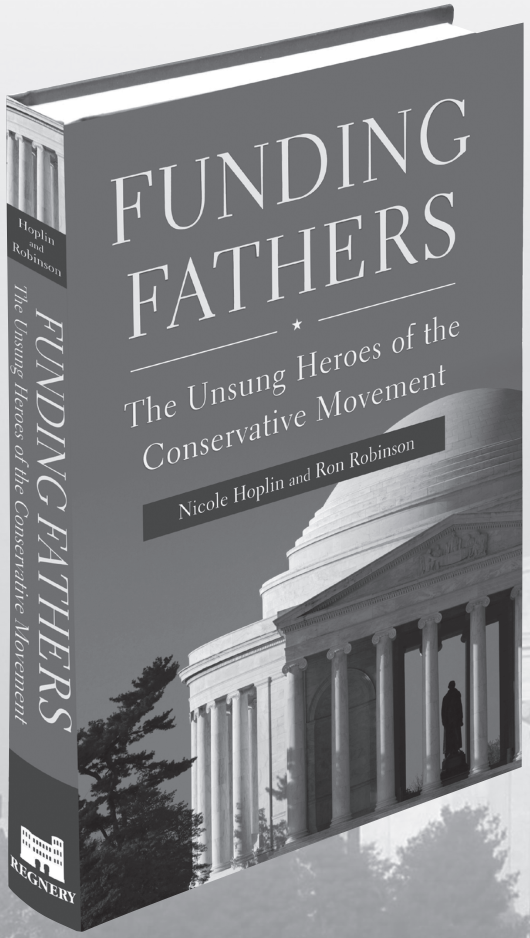
“A must-read for donors to the Conservative Movement”

—75th U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese III

★

Order Your Copy Today!

Contained in the pages of this book by Young America’s Foundation’s **Nicole Hoplin** and **Ron Robinson** are the stories that have rarely been told by the media… They are the stories of the vibrant lives of people who stood behind some of the Conservative Movement’s brightest moments, and who received little recognition or gratitude from the Movement or the country they shaped over the years. More importantly, they are stories of how the most significant books, institutions, and leaders came to be…


FUNDING FATHERS
The Unsung Heroes of the Conservative Movement
Nicole Hoplin and Ron Robinson
Hoplin and Robinson
FUNDING FATHERS
The Unsung Heroes of the Conservative Movement
REGNERY

“The mainstream press can be held responsible for one of three actions when it comes to stories (or lack thereof) about conservative philanthropy. It either:

(a) ignores a great gift given altogether,

(b) vilifies the gift and its significance, or

(c) misinterprets and misreports the gift in a way a donor would not intend for it to be remembered.

If conservatives rely solely on the media for gift-giving reinforcement, they will seldom take the steps necessary to propel the Movement forward…”

Purchase Funding Fathers *today—essential reading for those who want to know the inside story of the Conservative Movement and learn about its largely unheralded heroes.*

Available online, in bookstores everywhere, or at www.Regnery.com.

Since 1947
REGNERY
PUBLISHING, INC.
n Eagle Publishing Company • Washington, DC

Agnew, George Wallace in a dress? The McCain campaign reinforced this narrative by using Palin primarily as an attack dog and as a saleswoman for arguments McCain himself was too proud to make. How much of that was Palin's doing, and how much of it reflected the folly of her handlers? This is what's at issue, for instance, in the post-election feud about whether her famous reference to Barack Obama's habit of "palling around with terrorists" was delivered on her own initiative or on orders from HQ.

All of this goes to the deeper question: Who is Sarah Palin, and what might she become now that she's no longer tied to McCain's campaign and message? Is she the center-Right pragmatist who racked up 80 percent approval ratings while governing Alaska or the polarizing red-meat-slinger who's been embraced by the GOP's activist base? What does she really think about immigration or the bailout, to pick two issues that just might come up in a future Republican primary campaign? And is she capable of reclaiming ownership of her image from her enemies in the press and from her conservative hagiographers alike?

How Palin answers these questions will, I suspect, depend in large part on the psychological impact of the *purgatorio* she endured during her two months on McCain's ticket. In the heady days after the Republican convention, I remarked in these pages that the Alaska governor might be "the first conservative ever to *benefit* from a full-scale Borking and to emerge from the media gauntlet stronger than when she entered it." That was premature, alas: The assault on Palin may have crested with the great Bristol brouhaha, but it continued apace throughout the campaign—and even now that their candidate has cruised to victory, the media still seem eager to circulate almost any nasty anti-Palin rumor or slander, no matter how implausible or thinly sourced.

Given this grueling, disillusioning experience, no one would blame Palin if she allowed her next political action to be informed primarily by the grievances she's accumulated during this go-round. If the media have treated her as an enemy to be destroyed, then why shouldn't she do the same to them? If the conservative base loves her while the N.Y./D.C. elite harbors doubts, then why shouldn't she rally the base against the Beltway? The mood on the right at the moment is populist, anti-establishment, and ideological, so a woman who's just been sneered at by elites, trashed by the media-political complex, and rejected by moderates has every reason to allow herself to become a vessel for these sentiments and a champion of the people who stood behind her in her hour of need.

Every reason, that is, save any ambition she may harbor to become president—as opposed to becoming a right-wing Walter Mondale, capable of taking her party's nomination but destined to lose a general election in a landslide. Palin's path to the Republican nomination in 2012 is easy enough to see, at least in theory: She has the potential to forge a potent primary-season coalition, uniting evangelicals who went for Mike Huckabee in 2008 and talk-radio conservatives who backed Fred Thompson and Mitt Romney. But parties do not live by primary-season coalitions alone, and there's one statistic that ought to be plastered on every Republican politician's wall, including that of the governor's office in Juneau: When asked if the Bush administration was "too conservative" or "not conservative enough," independents chose the former by a 20-point margin, while Republicans went for the latter by 11 points.

STEPHAN SAVOIA/AP

Patience will serve her well.

Polls change, of course, but this disconnect suggests that Republican politicians face a serious challenge going forward—how to woo conservatives and independents simultaneously when the two groups see the world in such different ways. Palin has an advantage in this regard, since her credibility with conservatives could offer her a freedom of movement that few Republican politicians enjoy. But any worthwhile plan of action will require her to swallow hard and make nice with those who disdained her.

This kind of Nixon-to-China strategy would require, for instance, that she meet and woo the foreign-policy hands who expressed doubts about her readiness and the columnists who criticized her—the George Wills and Peggy Noonans and David Frums, at least, if not the Christopher Buckleys and Kathleen Parkers. It would require her to become a regular on networks other than Fox News, a frequent guest (and good sport) on *Saturday Night Live*, and the sort of public figure who is as likely to show up on *The View* as on the Rush Limbaugh show. (Her post-election tour of mainstream media outlets wasn't a bad start.) And it would require her to associate herself with explicitly non-partisan causes whenever possible—to appear alongside Bono, say, on some future trip to Africa, before she becomes a fixture of the GOP fundraising circuit.

Above all, it would require her to be patient. Palin's more enthusiastic admirers have compared her to Ronald Reagan, but it was 16 years from Reagan's electrifying endorsement of Barry Goldwater to his conquest of D.C.—time he spent doing the hard work of governing a state while tailoring and re-tailoring Goldwater's message to match the changing times and the mood of middle America.

Given that Palin has been a governor for just two years, her only immediate ambition should be to govern her state successfully enough to win reelection in 2010. After that, she could afford to watch, and wait, and pick her moment. She's young enough to imagine running for president in any of the next five campaigns, at least, and she's popular enough to hang around the fringes of the next Republican primary season, and the one after that, hedging her bets until the right moment and going all-in only if it looks like the nomination is worth having. The only question is whether she's savvy enough to recognize that the popularity she currently enjoys is not sufficient, that she needs to seduce skeptics rather than to crush them—and that, however long her list of enemies after this campaign, revenge is a dish best served cold. **NR**

The simplest, most accurate watch on the planet!

You never have to set this watch…
in fact you never even have to look at it

This new Talking Atomic Watch is the ultimate in simplicity, accuracy, and practicality. It's accurate to within a billionth of a second… and it talks!

I just threw my watch in the trash. I got it as a gift a while back—and it was something else. It had four different digital displays, about a dozen buttons, was waterproof to about a thousand feet, and I think it could even tell me the weather. I'll never know, though, because, like I said, it's in the trash. Turns out it couldn't do the one thing I want a watch to do … tell me the correct time. It always ran a little slow, which was bad enough, but there were so many displays and they were so small that I couldn't tell the time even if it was accurate. When I tried to reset it I pushed the wrong button and set it on military time, and I couldn't figure out how to switch it back. That was the last straw. Now, I've got a great watch. It's super-accurate, easy-to-read, and it will even tell … yes tell … me the time. Best of all, I'll never have to set it! This is the watch I've been waiting for.

Whether you travel or not… this watch is a necessity.

This Talking Atomic Watch from *first*STREET maintains its phenomenal accuracy because it is designed to receive a signal from the US Atomic Clock in Fort Collins, Colorado. This clock is the standard for time measurement worldwide… it can go 20 million years without gaining or losing a second! It never needs to be set, because it automatically adjusts itself for daylight savings time and leap years.

Easy to Read, Even easier to hear.

The most accurate watch in the world is of no use if you can't read it. This timepiece is designed to tell you the correct time… anytime. It features a clear, uncluttered analog display that you won't need reading glasses to see. Best of all, you can press a button and it will tell you the time in a clear, easy-to-understand voice. So whether you're driving to an appointment or dining in a candle-lit restaurant … you are sure to know the exact time. Press another button and it will even tell you the day and date if you want. There's even an automatic hourly chime.

"Ten-ten AM, Thursday, December 11th, 2008"
ON-TIME
TALKING
RADIO CONTROLLED

Try it for yourself… it's risk-free.

The US Atomic Clock cost billions to build and maintain, but you can have the next best thing for less than one hundred dollars. Thanks to a special arrangement with the manufacturer, we can offer you this watch at a special price with our exclusive home trial. Call now, and we'll give you a $10 INSTANT DISCOUNT and FREE SHIPPING. If you are not completely amazed by the accuracy and quality of this product, simply return it within 90 days for a full "No Questions Asked" refund.

Talking Atomic Watch ~~$99.95~~ **$89.95***

After $10 Instant Rebate* **Call now for free shipping.

1-888-745-7351

Please mention code 37171 when ordering.

www.atomictimedirect.com

Senior Approved Services

*first*STREET®
for Boomers and Beyond®
1998 Ruffin Mill Road • Colonial Heights, VA 23834

50062

Back to Basics, Ahead to Particulars

Reflect on your beliefs, then explain their relevance

YUVAL LEVIN

AMERICAN elections tend to give voters mere approximations of what they want. When the public chooses between two candidates, one will win, but generally by being slightly better than the other rather than embodying the will of the people. And one will lose, but usually by being slightly less appealing than the other rather than completely failing to engage voters' interests and imaginations. The general mood of the electorate, the peculiar features of the candidates, and the vicissitudes of the moment all play their parts in shaping voters' choices.

Elections therefore offer politicians and activists some crucial information, but not precise data for future use. The exit polls of the last election, with their detailed demographic breakdowns, might help us design the perfect candidate, platform, and message for winning the last election, but not the next one.

Winning the next election requires something much less clever than that: It requires us to ask what we believe about government, about man, and about our country; to ask what problems concern the public today that might be addressed by changing something about government; and to ask how our beliefs might be applied to those problems in practice. This is the threefold task that now (as always) confronts conservatives.

The first challenge, to rediscover the essential views that bind us, has always been crucial for conservatives. We are not fundamentally a coalition of interest groups clamoring for material support, but a coalition of adherents to a set of views we think should guide our country as it governs itself.

The common core of beliefs that unites conservatives lies deep, providing a foundation but not a whole political edifice. Just about everyone who calls himself a conservative, for instance, is more grateful for what works in our world than angry about what doesn't. And just about everyone who calls himself a conservative believes that the most significant human problems result from human failings, rather than from imperfect distributions of material resources—and so are permanent rather than transitory.

Because we are grateful and impressed that anything works at all, we value the social and political arrangements that make things work, and we seek to build on what is best about them rather than start over. Different institutions have evolved this way over time to address permanent human problems.

The family is our way of contending with permanent moral imperfection and the permanent challenge of rearing the young. The next generation begins where every human generation has always begun, not where the latest liberal education fad left off. It must be raised more or less as good men and women through the ages have always been raised, and must be offered an example of time-tested moral living. Future moral progress has to be continuous with past moral progress.

> Winning the next election requires us to ask what we believe about government, about man, and about our country.

The market is our way of contending with permanent intellectual imperfection, and of channeling individual avarice toward common prosperity in a free society. Alternative ways of pursuing prosperity tend to fail because they fall back on two delusions: that we can know enough to govern the economy in every detail, and that a reallocation of resources can eradicate poverty.

A strong military and an attitude of watchful caution are our ways of contending with the permanent belligerence of mankind and the permanent danger of hostile nations with an interest in weakening or harming us. We do not think that the absence of perfect peace is the result of temporary misunderstandings, and we have learned from history that peace is best achieved through confidence, strength, and interest-driven alliances abroad—and through economic prosperity and moral constancy at home.

In the light of these general views, drawn from even more general premises, the conservative coalition does not seem incoherent. Social conservatives, fiscal conservatives, and national-security conservatives generally stick together because their roots are intertwined. These different elements—for all their disputes and occasional serious contradictions—are mixed together, if prioritized differently, not only in large coalitions, but in particular individuals, and indeed in most American conservatives.

Conservative beliefs are not particular policies or particular attitudes about this tax or that program, but they do tend to yield some general attitudes about government and politics. Conservatives usually believe, for instance, that government power corrodes the roots of self-reliance, and therefore of both family and freedom, and so should be used only where necessary. From this belief, we tend to reason that the liberal welfare state undermines what works best about our society without addressing what fails to work. In various ways, however, conservatives also tend to believe there is a role for government in helping people ease the tension that modern capitalism creates between families and markets. Fiscal conservatives are not opposed to government regulation of the financial markets, provided the goal is to help the market work and not to replace it. Social conservatives are not opposed to public assistance to the poor, provided its aims are to strengthen and grow families and not to replace them. These general views inform conservative policy judgments, but specific judgments must always respond to particular problems.

This forces conservatives to confront their second challenge: understanding the problems of the day. We have fared more poorly on this front than on the first, and have been tempted too often to define the problems we face by the solutions we already have. We must acknowledge that liberals have diagnosed some American worries correctly. Working parents find themselves anxious. Uncertain health coverage, wage stagnation, and the rising costs of raising families are not figments of their imagination. The stresses of globalization are also very real, and pose a complicated mix of problems and opportunities for workers, parents, companies, and America's future strength. We cannot ignore these problems simply because our past policy prescriptions won't solve them. We have to see why they are genuine public worries, and apply our principles and ingenuity to addressing them.

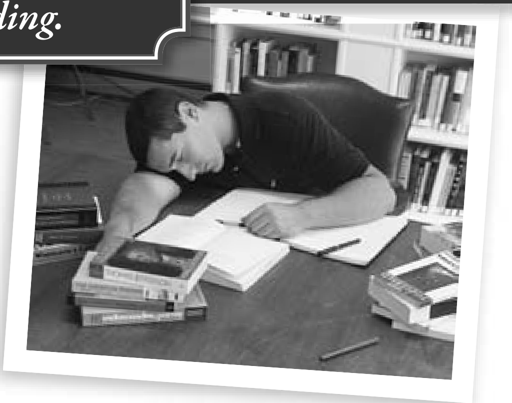
But doing so does not require us to understand these issues as the Left has. Much as conservatives do, liberals often confuse diagnosis with prescription; they have decided the country is desperately crying out for enervating, expensive, European-style social democracy. It is not. Conservatives should see public concerns as symptoms not of desperation but of aspiration, which we should support and encourage by removing barriers to success and sources of anxiety—many of them, but not all, caused by ill-designed government policies.

Figuring out just how to do that is the third challenge we face, and addressing it well will help us better deal with the first two. Conservatives need to call upon their inner wonks (and upon their army of real-life academic and think-tank wonks) and become a party of reform again, as we were in the 1980s and '90s. Reform means translating our ideals into specific legislative goals. What these will consist of is not settled by the term "reform." In itself, the word does not imply an ideological disposition, but a desire to turn to particulars.

There will not always be unanimity among conservatives about exactly what reforms to pursue and how. But internal disputes should revolve around specific proposals. In practice, the differences among conservatives will be both smaller and clearer than they are in theory and abstraction. Competing efforts to use conservative principles to address governing challenges will make for more constructive debates. The debates will also get us thinking about how to explain our principles in terms of the challenges voters face.

The fact that the Democrats won this election does not mean we have to become Democrats. And the fact that Republicans have won in the past does not mean we have to do exactly what they did. Rather, what we believe and what troubles Americans ought to guide our efforts. We have an opportunity to present Americans with an attractive vision of themselves and their future—a vision that could appeal to a broad swath of voters, rather than to just the right combination of micro-categories.

Conservatives know that Americans don't vote their material interests so much as their vision of the country. It is our version of that vision—addressed to particular concerns and embodied in specific proposals—that will make us worthy of governing again, and so will make us again the least-bad option in the eyes of the larger public. That is, alas, the highest honor a political movement can hope for in a healthy democracy. Liberals should not delude themselves into imagining they have achieved more than that this year, and conservatives should not despair of achieving as much again, and soon. **NR**



THE TRUTH NEVER SLEEPS

...and neither do we. At least until we're done with our reading.

"Thomas More College is probably the only place where you can read a Shakespeare play, translate Greek, write a paper, wash dishes, chat with a professor, pray, laugh, rake leaves, finish a novel, and attend class—all between lunch and dinner."

–THOMAS MORE COLLEGE GRADUATE

- **Authentic Catholic education** that permeates the classroom and campus life
- **Rigorous core curriculum** based on a comprehensive study of original works that shape Western Civilization
- **Rome Semester** in the shadow of the Vatican
- **Numerous student opportunities** through the Vatican Studies Center and the Center for Faith and Culture in Oxford, England

THOMAS MORE COLLEGE
of LIBERAL ARTS

Visit us at www.ThomasMoreCollege.edu or contact:

Jessica Rock, Director of Admissions at (800) 880-8308 or admissions@ThomasMoreCollege.edu
Six Manchester Street, Merrimack, NH 03054 — *Campus located just 40 miles north of Boston*

Beyond Tax Cuts

To win, the GOP must comprehensively address the cost of middle-class living

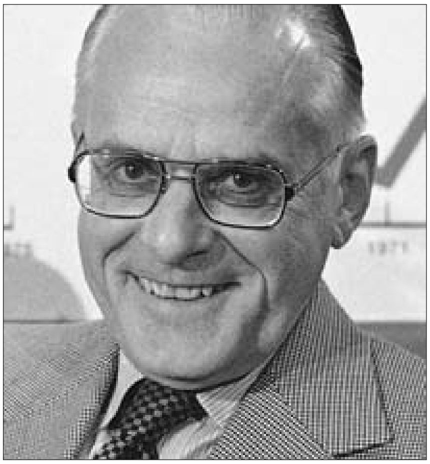
REIHAN SALAM

MICHAEL POLLAN, best known for his polemics against the food-industrial complex, has made a minor villain out of Earl Butz, Richard Nixon's secretary of agriculture. Faced with a sharp spike in inflation, the Nixon White House sought to win the political allegiance of housewives by taking sweeping steps to lower agricultural prices. Butz slashed regulations and trade barriers while increasing subsidies. The result: Family farms closed down, huge agribusiness concerns expanded mightily, production soared, and domestic food prices fell dramatically. For Pollan, Butz's machinations lie behind the current obesity epidemic and a broader coarsening of American life. But there is a very real sense in which Butz ended the specter of hunger in the United States. Apart from the subsidies, there is much to admire in his approach: His package of reforms delivered a better quality of life to millions of Americans.

Now, Richard Nixon is hardly a model for Republican domestic policy. His crude Keynesianism and his embrace of wage and price controls are rightly condemned by conservatives, not least because such recklessness helped set the stage for stagflation. But Earl Butz's approach deserves another look.

We sometimes forget that strengthening the free market often requires policy activism. Standing pat has its place, but anti-market forces can turn the inaction of the other side to their advantage. This will become very clear in the first few months of an Obama White House. Aided by his shrewd enforcer, Rahm Emanuel, Obama looks set to reshape the American state in ways that will permanently ratchet up the size of government and the cost of living. And until the bill comes due, it is a safe bet that a majority of voters will cheer him on. For now, Republicans can only react to what Obama does. Over the longer term, the party needs to develop a strategy that, like Butz's agricultural reforms, will have a significant impact on the quality of life of working-class and middle-class voters.

American workers are, as we all know, feeling anxious and vulnerable. And when we think of the political implications of this souring of the American mood, we tend to think, correctly, that it helps the Democrats. Barack Obama's victory is not, as some self-described progressives dearly hope, a mandate for robust social democracy. Just as Bush did not win in 2000 and 2004 because of his supposed commitment to free markets, there's no reason to believe that voters carefully evaluated Obama's economic program and found it persuasive. Rather, Democrats won because recent developments have sharply reduced the number of Americans who are optimistic about their economic prospects. As the Pew Research Center has found over the years, economic optimists tend to be Republicans. That is, people who believe that they control their own economic fate, and that the future will likely be brighter than the past, tend to vote Republican by overwhelming margins. This is true among blue-collar workers as well as affluent professionals.



Earl Butz

CHARLES BENNETT/AP

As Thomas B. Edsall noted in his ill-timed *Building Red America*, published just in time for the massive Republican congressional defeat of 2006, blue-collar Republicans differ from blue-collar Democrats in a number of respects: They are more likely to be in intact families, they are less likely to belong to labor unions, and they generally believe market competition is a good thing. To put it crudely, blue-collar Republicans see themselves as economic winners—which is why the current downturn is bad for Republicans beyond the important fact that it has happened on a Republican president's watch. Remember the old saw that FDR made working-class voters rich enough to vote Republican? In a similar vein, the broad prosperity of the 1990s, a shared legacy of Clinton and a Republican Congress, buoyed Republican fortunes.

As economic optimism erodes, there is a danger that we'll fall into a vicious circle in which economic pessimism drives policy shifts that make it even harder for American workers to get ahead. In 2003, economists Alberto Alesina and George-Marios Angeletos published a provocative working paper titled "Fairness and Redistribution." Their argument was that our beliefs about fairness shape our beliefs about redistribution. If you believe that the system works and that hard work is rewarded, you will favor low taxes and low levels of redistribution. If, in contrast, you believe that the system is broken and corrupt and that only insiders and cronies are rewarded, you will favor high taxes and high levels of redistribution.

The irony is that a system in which the state plays a larger role in the economy is a state in which rent-seeking behavior is more pronounced. So a belief in the unfairness of the system often becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. If the United States really is sliding into crony capitalism, as Thomas Frank and other liberals have forcefully argued, the solutions on offer from the Left—which promise a bigger, more active government—create new opportunities for privileged insiders to make large fortunes by trading on their political connections.

How can Republicans escape this trap? It is important to keep in mind that inequality matters less than the prospects for economic advancement, and that a high and rising cost of living damages those prospects. The next Republican domestic policy needs to address multiple barriers to upward mobility, not just one. In 1980, a punishing federal income-tax burden was the key obstacle faced by middle-class families. At the time, a median-income family of four was paying

Mr. Salam is an associate editor at *The Atlantic* and a fellow at the New America Foundation. He is the co-author, with Ross Douthat, of *Grand New Party: How Republicans Can Win the Working Class and Save the American Dream.*

11 percent of its earnings in federal income taxes. Today the figure is less than 6 percent, but they're still giving up too much of their paycheck in other ways. And now the obstacles to prosperity are more diffuse, which makes them tougher to understand and to unravel.

The Democrats have a keen understanding of this new landscape. During the 2004 campaign, Howard Dean blasted Republicans for what he called "the Bush tax hike." Though your federal income-tax burden might have dipped, Dean argued, you were paying more in state and local taxes and for health care under Bush. So in effect, unless you were very wealthy, you didn't see any real benefit from the tax cut—or so the argument went.

Luckily for Republicans, Dean was hardly the perfect messenger. But the idea was potent all the same: When Republicans focus almost exclusively on the federal income-tax burden, they talk past the public. Today's median-income family of four may be paying less than 6 percent of its earnings in federal income taxes, but health-insurance premiums generally amount to far more than that. And because those higher premiums haven't produced a higher quality of service, many Americans feel like they're running in place. That's how you feel when you're paying higher taxes for the same unsafe streets and the same unresponsive bureaucracy. It is hardly surprising that Republicans have remained fixated on taxes since 1980: Fighting taxes is far easier than, say, fighting health-care inflation. The trouble is that health-insurance premiums affect households at least as much as taxes do.

If we think of middle-class prosperity as a bundle of goods, the challenge becomes clearer. Apart from health care, squeezed families are worried about housing, traffic congestion, and, more than 30 years after Butz left office, the price of food. Fortunately, there are pro-market policies that can address all these challenges. To win back the White House, Republicans need to start fighting for them. **NR**

Brand: Old Party

But marketing is only part of the GOP's problem

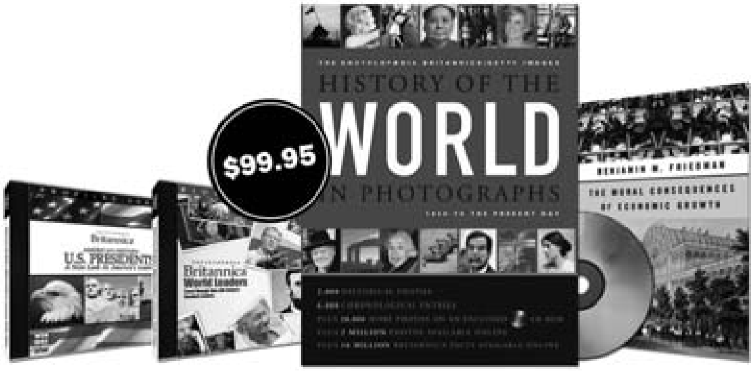
JOHN HOOD

THE Democratic party was always likely to win the White House and a larger congressional majority in 2008. Being by far the most intriguing and persuasive figure in either party, Barack Obama turned that likelihood into a certainty.

Mr. Hood is president of the John Locke Foundation, a think tank in North Carolina, and the author of, most recently, *Selling The Dream: Why Advertising Is Good Business* (Praeger).

Smart Gifts for Our Changing World

There's no better time to give the gift of knowledge and no better source than the worldwide leader in learning—Britannica®.



THE NEW GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES COLLECTION

- *History of the World in Photographs* (hardcover published by Black Dog & Leventhal) PLUS a Bonus CD-ROM with 20,000 additional photographs
- *The Moral Consequences of Economic Growth* (hardcover)
- *Britannica Biographies: World Leaders* CD-ROM
- *American History: U.S. Presidents* CD-ROM

Order now and receive 10% OFF your entire purchase.
Call **1-800-323-1229** weekdays between 8 a.m. and 6 p.m. CST, or visit **store.britannica.com/natreview**

Britannica Store

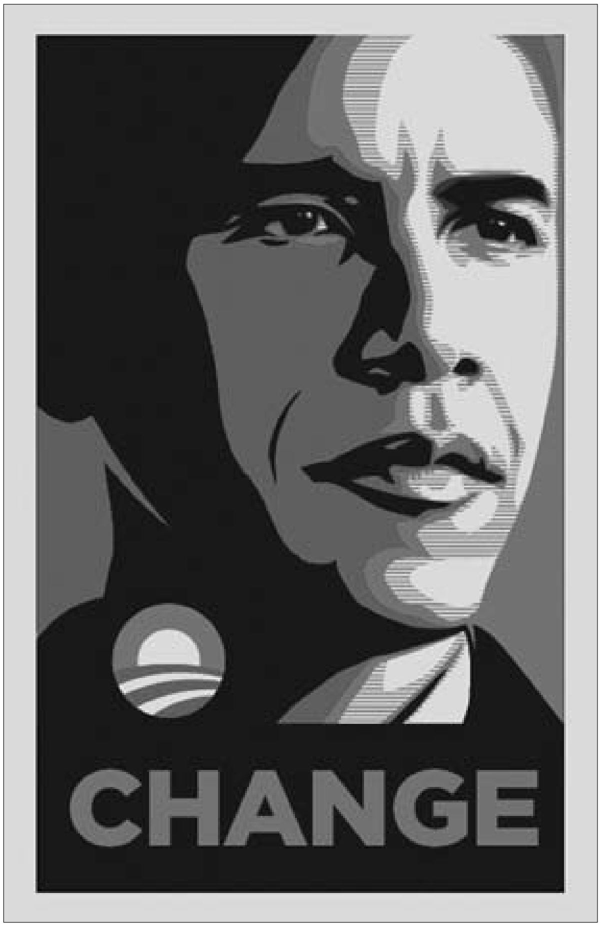
©2008 Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc.

Read those two sentences again and burn them into your brain. They will help get you through the next few months of recrimination, second-guessing, soul-searching, and "Whither conservatism?" discussions—including this one.

Bearing the burdens of an unpopular Republican administration, two protracted wars, and a softening economy panicked by a financial meltdown just weeks before Election Day, John McCain's campaign would have needed to be flush, flawless, and fortunate to have eked out a win. It was none of the above. The moment I became certain that the GOP had been hopelessly outmaneuvered was when I first saw the Obama ad "Two Extremes." Underneath a striking sequence of graphics, the narrator said: "On health-care reform, two extremes: On one end, government-run health care, higher taxes. On the other end, insurance companies without rules, denying coverage. Barack Obama says both extremes are wrong." The rest of the ad was full of reassuring promises. But the key was the opener. On health care, an issue of acute concern to millions of middle-class swing voters, Obama was against both big government and big insurance conglomerates.

Who isn't?

The second punch landed with another graphics-based ad on health care, "Unravel," which argued that McCain would tax employer-provided medical benefits for the first time and potentially cause companies to reduce or drop longstanding health-care arrangements. The argument was grossly misleading; McCain sought to replace income- and payroll-tax exclusions at the workplace with tax credits for households—a swap that would reduce taxes for virtually everyone and give families more choice and ownership in their health plans. But there's no oath in politics compelling candidates to tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Combined with Obama's panoply of proposed tax credits and deductions, his health-care message helped convince many fiscally conservative swing voters that the Democrats were at least as likely to alleviate their tax burden as the Republicans were. In any election dominated by domestic concerns, losing the tax issue will sink the GOP. In this election, the Republican ship of state was already waterlogged and listing, and it didn't take much to finish her off.



Brand Obama fit the mood of the times.

This is not to credit Obama's marketing gurus alone with victory. The Republican problem was in fact one of substance, of policy. While liberals enjoy agonizing over the electoral difficulties they endure for being such nuanced sophisticates, the opposite is closer to the truth. Conservatism's governing principles—emphasizing the perils of unintended consequences, the workings of unseen economic and social forces, and the inescapable manifestations of man's fallen nature—are complex and often counterintuitive. As a result, conservative policy prescriptions often have a lot of moving parts. Because the real world is complicated, and because longstanding social problems cannot be easily solved—or else they would have been long ago—there is a mismatch between practical necessity and political advantage. It's relatively easy to outline a problem and promise immediate but unspecified government action to address it. It's far more difficult to explain why government intervention might do more harm than good, and why the best course over the long run might be to resist a "Mr. Fix It" temptation in the short run. In politics, as in much of social life, the pull of immediate gratification explains a lot.

Beware any Republican consultant or conservative activist peddling a solution to the dilemma based entirely on better marketing strategies and campaign tactics. I've hung around with political operatives long enough to have learned that they never lose their campaigns. When candidates win, you see, it's invariably because they listened to the wise consultants. When candidates lose, it's because they didn't listen at all, or because they listened to rival consultants peddling a wrongheaded strategy. Hindsight is usually 20/20, but after a lost election it's 20/10. Every well-wisher outside a campaign feels entitled after its defeat to give detailed explanations of his pet strategy, which clearly would have been more effective than the loser's. If success famously has a thousand fathers, then electoral failure has a thousand deadbeat dads—around for the fun part but nowhere to be found when the going gets tough.

Should Republicans study and emulate the Democrats' tactical mastery of new technologies for channeling political passions into campaign cash, volunteers, and new voters? Of course. Were there alternative campaign strategies that might have served John McCain better than those he chose? Undoubtedly. But these are issues of marketing. They come after the issue of message, and the fundamental problem was that Obama's messages were an easy sell for the political marketplace of 2008. It's not obvious to me that any amount of sharpened GOP marketing savvy would have made much difference, given the personalities of the two candidates and the circumstances of the national election.

First of all, Obama's messages were simple. He offered up a lot of programs and promises during the campaign, but he didn't dwell much on them in his advertising and debate appearances. Partisan, ideological voters may crave details and formulas, but they're already with you or against you. Early on, the Democrats appreciated that the default position of the American electorate in 2008 would be to toss out Bush and his party. They didn't need to persuade swing voters with details—such quibbles as how Obama's campaign promises could be reconciled with fiscal reality. And, as McCain discovered, details can be twisted and misrepresented.

Simple messages such as "We need change," "Obama's new and different," and "Let's work together" also lend themselves to new forms of marketing through social networks and iconography. Republicans spent a lot of time this year ridiculing the Democrats' use of imagery, color schemes, audio/visual cues, and "branding." But where do all those dismissive Republicans shop? Do they really have so little understanding of how people get information and make decisions? Don't they remember when it was "morning in America"?

Second, Obama's messages were relevant. The electorate was worried, frustrated, and fed up with President Bush and the Washington establishment. Obama looked and sounded nothing like Bush—easy sale. Imagine a wanderer staggering out of the burning desert. Any cold beverage would seem heavenly, even diet caffeine-free rhubarb fizz. Every time McCain and the conservative intelligentsia pointed out that Obama had spent only a couple of years in the Senate before beginning his presidential run, they reminded change-thirsty voters that Obama couldn't possibly be part of that hated Washington establishment. It was as if Chrysler were running an ad campaign emphasizing that its products are nothing like those notorious Toyotas. It's easier to succeed when your opponent spends a good part of his time helping you make your case.

As for Candidate McCain, he presented himself as an experienced senator and longtime maverick who was right about the surge strategy in Iraq. To most Republican partisans, that message was convincing. But to swing voters, the simple part of the message wasn't relevant—they wanted a fresh face with new ideas and a taste for unity, not an experienced hand with a talent for trouble. And the relevant part of McCain's message wasn't simple—maybe he was right about the surge, but voters still had reservations about the war and weren't sure how much to weigh foreign-policy experience against other leadership qualities in the midst of an economic downturn.

Late in the campaign, and almost by accident, McCain's economic message found simplicity and relevance in the person of Joe the Plumber. By then, though, the parameters of the race had pretty much been set. Indeed, many Americans had already cast their votes by the time the issue was fully developed and a last-minute batch of "Joe the Plumber" ads made it to the airwaves.

Again, I don't deny that Republicans should reengineer their campaign machinery from top to bottom, or that the conservative movement should enter a period of introspection and renewal. With regard to the latter, I believe that only a coherent, easy-to-explain combination of tax relief and government reforms that draw on the movement's libertarian and traditionalist strands—call it a bold fusion of liberty and virtue—has a chance of addressing the concerns of America's broad middle class and assembling an electoral majority. But some perspective is called for here. Any political scientist using standard predictive models would have forecast a Democratic victory months ago, long before the general election was under way. Despite it all, McCain attracted 46 percent of the popular vote. And with every electoral cylinder firing for the Dems, their 2008 gains got them back to the status quo ante of 1993, but no further.

Once the Democrats nominated Obama and the Republicans nominated McCain, the basic messages of the 2008 election were set. Besides which, most Americans felt the tug of history. They wanted to find reasons to elect the nation's first black president, not reasons to reject him. Differences in the campaigns' marketing acumen (and resources) may have affected Obama's margin of victory modestly, but the result was not really in doubt. Brand Obama better fit the mood of the times.

The thing about the times is, they change. **NR**

Congressman Kemp's Playbook

Conservatives should modernize the supply-side message

JOHN J. MILLER

When Jimmy Carter was elected president in 1976—with sizable Democratic majorities in both houses of Congress—plenty of pundits speculated about Republicans as an endangered species. A writer for the *New York Times* contemplated the GOP's "extinction." Robert Novak commented on "the long descent of the Republican Party into irrelevance, defeat, and perhaps eventual disappearance."

Four years later, of course, Americans tossed out Carter and elected Ronald Reagan.

The sources of Reagan's victory were many, from Carter's poor performance to Reagan's impressive political skills. Yet the Gipper also owed a great deal to conservatives in the House of Representatives, especially Jack Kemp. Instead of behaving as powerless members of a vanishing minority party, Kemp and his allies helped create the conditions for Reagan's success. They pushed an agenda of supply-side tax cuts that redefined their party's economic principles and shifted American politics rightward. Much of their achievement was rooted in the particular circumstances of the late 1970s, but their accomplishment also suggests that today's GOP—battered by the blows of November 4—is far from helpless if it will only show the determination to turn its current dilemma into a new opportunity.

Jack French Kemp Jr. was a Californian who quarterbacked the Buffalo Bills to two American Football League championships in the 1960s. He became a local hero, winning election to Congress in 1970 from a working-class district along the shores of Lake Erie. But it wasn't a safe seat for a Republican. Unemployment was high. Anxieties were even higher. A natural-born optimist, Kemp became convinced that his political future depended on breaking away from the traditional Republican vision of budget austerity.

The example of John F. Kennedy excited him. For one thing, Kemp shared a set of initials with the former president. For another, JFK had pushed a tax credit for capital investment through Congress—and capital investment was exactly what Kemp thought his beleaguered district needed in order to keep its factories open for business. Later, Kennedy proposed sweeping income-tax reductions as well. So Kemp resolved to make tax cuts his trademark issue. "He really seized on it," says Randal Teague, Kemp's former chief of staff. "Every week, we tried to figure out a new way to say the same thing, to get some fresh legs under our message on taxes."

The challenges were huge. Kemp was a backbencher with the wrong committee assignments. His gridiron exploits were an asset with the public, but they may have hurt him among congressional insiders: Who was this dumb jock with the raspy voice? Moreover, many Republicans were deeply skeptical of tax reduction. They saw themselves as the party of fiscal discipline. Tax cuts meant lost revenue, and lost revenue meant budget deficits; anything else was "voodoo economics," as George H. W. Bush once put it. Even Barry Goldwater—lionized by many libertarians today—voted against JFK's tax cuts because he thought they were irresponsible. "The most important thing Kemp did wasn't with respect to the Democrats," says Bruce Bartlett, a former staffer. "It was with respect to the Republicans, and convincing them to change their views on balancing the budget."

Kemp became a supply-side evangelist who believed that tax cuts would not only spur economic growth, but also bring in more revenue for the government. "He had nothing to lose, and when you have nothing to lose you can go pretty far," says David Smick, a former top aide. Even so, Kemp wasn't reckless. He was savvy, with a keen eye for hiring top talent. Soon his congressional office was operating as a miniature think tank on the Hill, and Kemp himself was connecting with supply-side intellectuals such as Art Laffer, Robert Mundell, and Jude Wanniski. When they converted Robert Bartley, editorial-page editor of the *Wall Street Journal*, to their side, they gained a powerful bully pulpit.

The election of 1974 was a blessing in disguise. Republicans took a severe beating, but the losses also clipped the wings of some of the GOP's most aggressive deficit hawks. The survivors found themselves willing to consider different strategies. The ongoing malaise of the 1970s helped as well. "The supply-side revolution would not have occurred in a successful economy," wrote Paul Craig Roberts, another Kemp operative, in *The Supply Side Revolution*, his book on the period. "The deterioration in the economy's performance was worrisome, and it created an environment in which new policy ideas could get a hearing."

At the Republican national convention in 1976, Kemp delivered a fiery pep talk: "It's time for the Republicans to move from defense to offense." By the next year, his GOP colleagues were eager to run with the ball. John Rousselot of California, a member of the House budget committee, offered a relatively modest tax-cut bill. His legislation lit a fuse. Suddenly, members of Congress from both parties were trying to outdo one another with tax cuts. In 1977, Kemp teamed with Republican senator William Roth of Delaware to introduce what became known as "Kemp-Roth"—an across-the-board income-tax cut of about 30 percent, including a reduction in the top rate from 70 percent to 50 percent. It became the centerpiece of dozens of GOP campaigns that year. "Against all odds, a congressional minority seized the national agenda," says Brian Domitrovic, an economic historian at Sam Houston State University and the author of *The Money Touch*, a forthcoming book about the supply-side insurgency.

Kemp was so successful with the tax issue that he began to think about running for the White House. Reagan's advisers saw Kemp as a threat—a younger version of Reagan, who some thought was too old for the presidency. Instead of battling Kemp, Reagan absorbed his ideas. Kemp decided not to run and backed Reagan, who used the tax issue against Carter. After his election, Reagan signed a version of Kemp-Roth into law. The GOP's recovery, which had looked so doubtful just a few years earlier, was complete.

So what's the lesson for today? Obviously, conservatives should persuade Tom Brady to retire from the NFL and run for Congress as a supply-sider. In truth, the anti-tax crusade of the late 1970s probably can't be duplicated in the near term, even by a quarterback with more championship rings than Kemp. "The starting point on tax rates is too different," says Bob Carroll of the Tax Foundation. In other words, conservatives are the victims of their own supply-side success: The top tax bracket may be higher than they'd like, but it doesn't approach the confiscatory rates of yore. The problem of bracket creep—in which wage inflation pushes people into higher levels of taxation without changing their real income—has also become less important as inflation has declined.

Yet the economy is in the doldrums, more so than in the 1970s. Assuming it stays there as the Age of Obama unfolds, Americans may find themselves ready to embrace a big idea from a young Turk once again. "It would take a political entrepreneur, someone who doesn't respond to the visible side of demand but offers an entirely new product," says Alan Reynolds, another veteran of the Kemp circle who is now a senior fellow at the Cato Institute. One advantage that a right-of-center political entrepreneur of the 21st century would have over Kemp is a mature infrastructure of supporting institutions, including well-established free-market policy groups and a wide range of conservative publications and websites. The fight would remain difficult, but perhaps not quite as lonely as it was when Kemp began his effort a generation ago.

Reynolds isn't sure whether such a political entrepreneur inhabits the House today, but he does point to 38-year-old Republican congressman Paul Ryan of Wisconsin as a possibility. Earlier this year, Ryan proposed comprehensive legislation that tackles entitlements and taxes. One of its big ideas is a two-rate modified flat tax. It didn't catch fire in 2008, and chances are it won't in 2009 either.

Still, Ryan seems determined. The more the economy stumbles, the more likely a political innovator will get a hearing. And it doesn't hurt that he learned politics from a good teacher. His old boss? Jack Kemp. **NR**

The Four Horsemen of Barack Obama

Why markets are predicting apocalypse

KEVIN A. HASSETT

ACCORDING to the University of Iowa's presidential-futures market, John McCain's prospects peaked on March 22, 2008. By that day it was clear he'd be the nominee, though he had not yet been officially nominated. The market implied that his odds of winning the White House were 55 percent.

But then financial markets began their historic fall, which accelerated as the campaign wore on. When McCain's probability of winning was at its peak, the S&P 500 index stood at 1,329.54. By November 5, it had dropped 28.3 percent, to 952.77. The question: Did the tanking economy help Obama; did the economy tank as a reaction to the fact that Obama might become president; neither; or both?

Democratic partisans prefer the first explanation. Nobel Prize–winning economist Joseph Stiglitz, for example, recently wrote that "Barack Obama owes his victory in large measure to the prospect of the longest and deepest economic downturn in a quarter-century and perhaps since the Great Depression."

Stiglitz is right. The link between bad economic news and diminishing prospects for the presidential candidate who represents the incumbent party is older than sliced bread, and has been carefully documented by Yale economist Ray Fair. But Stiglitz is only half right, because the negative correlation between Obama's prospects and stock prices reflected an ominous feedback loop: As Obama's odds of winning rose, markets tanked; as they tanked, Obama's odds of winning rose.

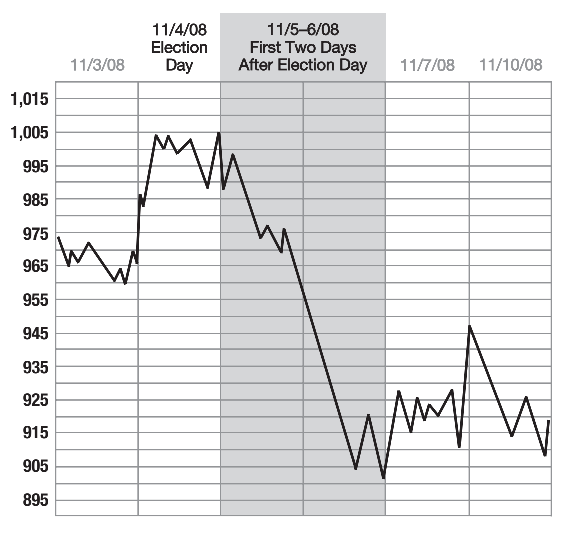
Obama supporters will of course dispute this, but market movements after the election confirm that an "Obama Panic" took place in October and November. The day after the election, the S&P 500 dropped 5.2 percent, the worst reception ever for a winning candidate. It dropped another 5 percent the next day.

What explains the despair? A look at Obama's platform suggests that he plans four big changes that, if implemented, could have terrible economic consequences. Think of them as the Four Horsemen of Obamanomics.

The First Horseman is a bill, the "Fair Currency Act," that Obama co-sponsored last May. If this bill becomes law, it could ignite a trade war similar to the Smoot-Hawley catastrophe that contributed to the Great Depression.

The bill allows the U.S. to impose duties on imported Chinese products to offset China's purported currency manipulation. Michigan senator Debbie Stabenow has argued that the measure will "protect" Americans from China and other countries that artificially lower the cost of exports. Imposing new duties on these products, according to the bill's supporters, would "level the playing field" and would restore the competitive position of American manufacturers in the global marketplace.

S&P 500 Stock Index



But such "protection" is never the end of the story. If we impose duties, others will respond in kind, and trade will suffer. During the campaign, Democratic economists apologized for Obama's anti-trade rhetoric—they claimed he understood the benefits of free trade and was just scoring political points. We will soon find out whether such reassurances were justified.

The Second Horseman is "card check." Card check allows union organizers to form a bargaining unit once they receive signed authorization forms, or "cards," from a majority of employees. The National Labor Relations Act currently permits this, but also allows employers to challenge the results and require a secret-ballot election. The Employee Free Choice Act, which passed the House last year and was defeated only by Republican opposition in the Senate, would take away the right to challenge card-check petitions except when fraud or coercion is suspected. Arguments against card check often focus on fairness: By taking away the option of a secret-ballot election, card check would make it easier for union bosses to intimidate workers into acquiescence. But consider, also, the impact of further unionization on businesses: Costs would skyrocket, profits would tank, and bankruptcies and job destruction would follow.

The Third Horseman is tax policy. While much of the political debate centered on Obama's plan to increase marginal tax rates on the "wealthy," a little-known footnote to his plan was a call to end the deferral of tax on the profits of U.S. multinational corporations. This is the most alarming of his many proposals.

American firms currently compete in the world economy with an enormous disadvantage. The U.S.'s nominal corporate tax rate, 35 percent, is the second-highest among OECD nations. The gap between our rate and our trading partners' has been growing sharply; the average corporate rate among non-U.S. OECD nations had fallen all the way to 25 percent by 2007.

A little-appreciated aspect of the tax code has proved the salvation of our multinationals during these high-tax times. If a company locates its profits in a subsidiary based in a low-tax country, it does not have to pay U.S. tax on those profits until the money is sent back to the United States. So a subsidiary operating in Ireland, where the 2007 corporate tax rate was 12.5 percent, can sell its product in France and let the profit pile up in an Irish bank account indefinitely. In this scenario, the disadvantage of the U.S. rate is reduced significantly. Democrats have raged against such deferral, arguing that it encourages firms to move their activity overseas. But deferral is necessary only because of the high tax, which is in and of itself a reason for businesses to go elsewhere.

If Obama successfully ends deferral, our multinationals will suddenly find that costs have dramatically shifted in their disfavor. They will lose business to competitors that operate in low-tax jurisdictions, and cut back employment both here and abroad.

The Fourth Horseman is regulation. As a candidate, Obama blamed deregulation for our economy's woes, and promised to crack down with new regulations if elected. One can bet that Obama's efforts will not focus solely on the financial sector, and that many new costs will be imposed on American businesses generally. This despite the fact that most deregulation has been achieved on a bipartisan basis, and widely hailed as successful. Trucking and air travel, for example, are two industries that deregulation has made more efficient.

Given this list of bad policies, it's little wonder that investors have headed to the exits. The collapse of housing prices and the financial calamity that ensued certainly started the process, but it's hard to imagine that the market would have plunged this far without the magnifying effect of Obama's policies—and the most chilling thought is that the market probably has not fully factored the Four Horsemen into current stock prices. It is an open question whether Obama will pursue all of his campaign promises, but the threat that he might has markets predicting apocalypse. **NR**

The Art of Genn
FOR SALE!!!

National Review is pleased to bring you many of Roman Genn original drawings and paintings—for sale exclusively on National Review Online.

STORE.NATIONALREVIEW.COM/GENN

You Paid What For That?

We can win the cap-and-trade fight in 2009

JIM MANZI

THE American people have elected a Democratic president and congressional majority. It is incumbent on conservatives to try to work productively with the new leadership until the next election. Part of the role of loyal opposition is to pick battles wisely. We need to focus major disagreements on political issues that are significant—issues on which either victory is possible, or laying down a marker for future elections is critical. One obvious example of such an issue is so-called cap-and-trade legislation.

The premise behind cap-and-trade is that carbon-dioxide emissions will produce increasingly severe global warming, and that we therefore should force reductions in the use of the fossil fuels that generate most U.S. carbon-dioxide emissions in order to avoid some of the damage they are predicted to cause. Cap-and-trade is often presented by advocates as a complicated, technocratic, and "market-oriented" approach to the problem, but in plain English cap-and-trade is simple: It is carbon rationing. Basically, the federal government would make it illegal, in most cases, to emit carbon dioxide at scale without a ration card. Government officials would decide how much carbon dioxide the U.S. would emit in a given year (that's the "cap" part), print up only that many ration cards, auction them off, and then allow people to buy and sell them (that's the "trade" part).

In order to reduce carbon-dioxide emissions in any serious way, the cap would have to force the U.S. economy to consume a lot less fossil fuel than it otherwise would. Barack Obama has proposed a cap-and-trade program intended to reduce U.S. emissions by 80 percent by 2050. Given that about 85 percent of all energy consumed in the U.S. is produced by fossil fuels, this implies using government fiat to demand the elimination of *a majority of all energy that would otherwise be used by the economy over roughly the next 40 years*. A person possessed of common sense might think that this would keep the economy from doing as well as it otherwise would. And this person would be right.

But, of course, advocates say that these enormous costs are justified, because we are preventing a global catastrophe. A careful review of the facts indicates otherwise. The United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) represents the largest existing global effort to project the potential extent and impact of global warming. The current IPCC consensus forecast is that, under fairly reasonable assumptions for world population and economic growth, global temperatures are projected to rise by about 3°C by the year 2100. Also according to the IPCC, a 4°C increase in temperatures would cause total estimated economic losses of 1 to 5 percent of global GDP. By implication, if we were at 3°C of warming at the end of this century, we would be well into the 22nd century before we reached a 4°C rise, with this associated level of cost. Note that the vast majority of mainstream economists expect the average person in this far future to have an income at least five times larger than the average person of 2008.

This is the central problem for advocates of rapid, aggressive emissions reductions. Despite the rhetoric, the best available estimate of the damage we face from unconstrained global warming is not "global destruction," but instead something on the order of a 3 percent cut in global GDP in a much wealthier world well over 100 years from now.

This is why formal attempts to weigh the costs and benefits of cap-and-trade have to make patently implausible assumptions in order to claim that the program is sensible. One trick is to build into the assumptions an unrealistically heavy weighting of benefits a century or more from now versus costs today. Another is to assume global agreement to, and enforcement of, emissions-reductions rules—when these things do not in fact exist, and when China and India seem in no imminent danger of joining such a regime. Cap-and-trade advocates want to wave away careful

Mr. Manzi is the CEO of an applied-artificial-intelligence software company.

scrutiny, because their arguments cannot withstand it.

In June 2007, this magazine published what turned out to be a somewhat controversial cover story on global warming in which I argued three things: (1) man-made global warming is real, (2) current projections of its expected impact are wildly uncertain, but are not sufficient to justify the costs of an aggressive emissions-reduction program, and (3) conservatives have an unseen political opportunity to win on the issue by pointing this out.

At that time, many conservatives feared, and many liberals hoped, that this was simply a way-station to a me-too conservative emissions-reduction program that accepted the massive government intervention and did a little tinkering around the edges. But the defeat in Congress this spring of the Lieberman-Warner cap-and-trade proposal showed the success of exactly the strategy I advocated. This bill was not beaten by an esoteric argument about science; it was beaten by pointing out the immediate pocketbook loss it would create for voters today in return for small, uncertain benefits in the far future.

Republicans can learn from the defeat of Lieberman-Warner.

SAUL LOEB/AFP

A future cap-and-trade bill is very possible in the new Congress, and Republicans can beat such a bill with the same strategy. The reason for this is simple: They have the facts on their side. The economic problems with cap-and-trade are not fixable with clever drafting. Even if one accepts the scientific and economic projections used by cap-and-trade advocates, the costs of restricting emissions can't be justified based on the benefits that it is expected to provide. This is why getting drawn into a discussion of how to improve cap-and-trade is a strategic error. The Republican reaction should be to "just say no." The positive Republican alternative should be investment, at the level of single-digit billions of dollars per year, in technologies that will provide insurance in the unlikely event that the consequences of global warming turn out to be much worse than expected.

The likely fulcrum of this resistance will be a real or threatened filibuster by the Republican caucus in the Senate. This is where Lieberman-Warner was stopped, and Republican losses in the recent elections should not necessarily undermine this capability. Senators Dole (N.C.), Smith (Ore.), and Sununu (N.H.), who were defeated in the 2008 elections, are among the few Republicans who voted in favor of Lieberman-Warner. A careful analysis of prior voting records, and of the fossil-fuels-dependence and income profiles of each state, indicates that there should be at least 40 Senate votes to hold the line against cap-and-trade.

All this said, there is a real possibility that resistance in the Senate will fail, and Congress will pass a cap-and-trade law. Even in this scenario, the program is very likely to fail in practice, either because (as has happened in Europe) it becomes a pointless boondoggle, or because it actually starts to restrict energy use and thus becomes a visible drag on the economy. One way or the other, if Republicans force a party-line vote, it would just create an issue for conservatives to campaign on, win, and roll back.

As an inherently uncertain political process winds forward, how do we keep pushing this debate to the best possible outcome, given the overall correlation of political forces? Simple—keep coming back to the same question: "What do we pay, and what do we get?" **NR**

Roots of Defeat

Let us study, and emulate, the Left's online tactics

PATRICK RUFFINI

THE four-year ascent of Barack Obama from state senator to president marks not just the triumph of a man, but the coming of age of a movement.

That movement belongs to liberal (or "progressive") Democrats, who in less than a decade have remade themselves. Once respected only in academia and the news media, they have become a fighting force. They systemically digitized the means of political organization and strategy, with the ultimate goal of dominating the political system—"Crush their spirits!" was Daily Kos blogger Markos Moulitsas Zuniga's pre-election rallying cry.

The Left's online movement is consciously modeled after the Goldwater-and-Reagan-era conservative movement. To those trying to build the Left, the vast right-wing conspiracy was an object not of scorn, but of admiration. They studied the Right's network of think tanks, issue groups, and talk-show hosts, looking for clues on how to push a message with brutal efficiency. They took these lessons to heart and shaped them to fit the web. Ironically, today's Right has much to learn from them.

The Left has created not just a collection of unshaven bloggers but a machine that beat the Right at its own game. The Left's response to idea mills like the Heritage Foundation and AEI is the Center for American Progress, except that it produces few ideas: A reported 40 percent of its budget is given over to marketing. The tip of the spear is ThinkProgress.org, a site written ostensibly by CAP policy wonks. Its sole function seems to be to discredit conservative candidates and

Mr. Ruffini is a Republican political strategist and co-founder of TheNextRight.com.

personalities; it contains 11,000 pages with the words "Sarah Palin" on them, according to Google. ThinkProgress entries aren't all that original, but they frequently serve as jumping-off points for the left-wing blogosphere and *Countdown with Keith Olbermann*.

If ThinkProgress is the framing and messaging arm of the netroots, Talking Points Memo's Josh Marshall is its resident opposition researcher. When he began blogging eight years ago, Marshall seemed like a classic starving-artist type, bouncing around from freelance gig to freelance gig and blogging in his spare time. But Marshall has become the Left's most consistently high-performing purveyor of new attack memes against Republicans and conservatives. He has built a small empire—TPM Media employs seven reporter-bloggers, and one former employee landed at ABC News.

Daily Kos's Moulitsas is in many ways the central fixture of the liberal blog scene, and activism is his main focus. Moulitsas has pushed his many readers—he receives tens of millions of page views a month—to donate to his favorite candidates, usually second-tier liberal challengers to comfortable Republican incumbents. Daily Kos is not merely a platform for liberal views, but an instrument for building political support in and for the Democratic party. "[Daily Kos is] a Democratic blog with one goal in mind: electoral victory," wrote Moulitsas in a defining 2004 post. "The battle for the party is not an ideological battle. It's one between establishment and anti-establishment factions."

The netroots' early successes were achieved over the opposition of the party establishment and with little support from major donors. But the Democratic fundraising clearinghouse ActBlue changed the game: Any donor could earmark money for specific candidates, and could do so online. The site has now raised nearly $82 million for Democratic candidates, most of them liberal.

Over the years, liberal bloggers have seen numerous victories. Their baptism in the political arena was the 2004 Howard Dean campaign, when the Internet allowed a little-known former Vermont governor to eclipse his more recognizable but milquetoast competitors. The candidate blew it at the eleventh hour, but the experience was instructional. In the ensuing years, a powerful assist from the blogosphere stiffened the spines of traditional Democratic interest groups, which had been ineffective in the first Bush term.

In 2005, Marshall led the liberal blogosphere's charge against Social Security reform; he posted the names and phone numbers of Democratic politicians who professed openness to private accounts, dubbing them the "faint-hearted faction." As the phone calls rolled in, the faint-hearted changed their positions one by one. That, coupled with the Republican leadership's offering only weak-kneed support, dealt a decisive blow to the president's signature second-term initiative, puncturing his aura of invincibility and presaging the death spiral to come.

In 2006, there was no civil war between the Deaniac netroots, whose leader now headed the Democratic National Committee, and the party establishment. Everyone marched under the banner of the netroots' in-your-face aggressiveness. YouTube played a decisive role in fanning the flames of George Allen's verbal foibles—forever enshrining the "macaca moment"—and thus flipped control of the U.S. Senate.

Shortly thereafter came Marshall's greatest triumph, the result of cobbling together local news accounts of U.S. attorney firings around the country. He wove them into a single narrative about cronyism at the Justice Department that eventually cost Alberto Gonzales his job. It was a story uniquely suited to the Internet: No reporter was covering that beat, and the local articles were accessible to everyone online.

In 2007, out of this vibrant, drama-filled history, came the Obama campaign, which concluded that the Internet could make the difference in an insurgent primary bid against Hillary Clinton. To be sure, the crowds and the gusher of online money would not have materialized without Obama's charisma. But the campaign came up with brilliant tactics and executed them perfectly, requiring supporters to give their e-mail addresses (for subsequent re-solicitation) to attend rallies, collecting an estimated 3 million cellphone numbers by promising to announce the vice-presidential pick by text message, and hiring an nine-person online video team to craft the candidate's image on YouTube.

Without Obama's massive online fundraising haul, the Illinois senator likely would not have had the resources to dominate the ground-game-intensive caucus states that made the difference in his nomination. And though money and tactics alone cannot explain the general-election outcome, the Internet gave Obama the freedom to opt out of public financing, setting up the most one-sided air and ground campaigns in modern presidential politics.

Meanwhile, the Right isn't even out of the gate in mobilizing money and activists for its candidates outside the traditional party structure. Republicans have replicated the ActBlue technology, but their success has been limited by a distinctly inhospitable environment. Right-of-center bloggers are disinclined to engage in direct activism, and campaign consultants who came of age in the 20th century are reluctant to invest resources in the Internet.

Another problem is that conservative bloggers are there to provide you with their opinion. The new pillars of left-wing media are there to provide you with information, such as that on the U.S. attorney firings. Recognizing that page A1 of any newspaper usually trumps the op-ed page in setting the agenda, these outlets have fashioned themselves as dispensers of information—information usually helpful to the Left and its candidates.

This is because TPM, ThinkProgress, and the Huffington Post are all full-time operations employing reporters, whereas conservative blogs usually run the work of amateur or part-time writers. When conservative bloggers are full-time, they are generally commentators and not reporters.

It goes without saying that Republicans' problems go far beyond their use—or relative non-use—of technology. The netroots and the Obama campaign succeeded primarily because the Internet is a medium tailor-made for insurgents. But now that Republicans are on the outs at all levels of government, they will need the Internet as a tool of opposition. Failure to grab hold of it could signal a long, long winter to come. **NR**

Going Mainstream

The Right faces new media realities

STEPHEN SPRUIELL

ANY program for conservative revival has to take into account the transfigured media. In the last decade, we have witnessed the decline of traditional news organizations and the rise of the new media. Obviously left-leaning but ostensibly objective broadcast networks and newspapers have lost market share to openly opinionated cable-news programs, talk-radio shows, blogs, and websites.

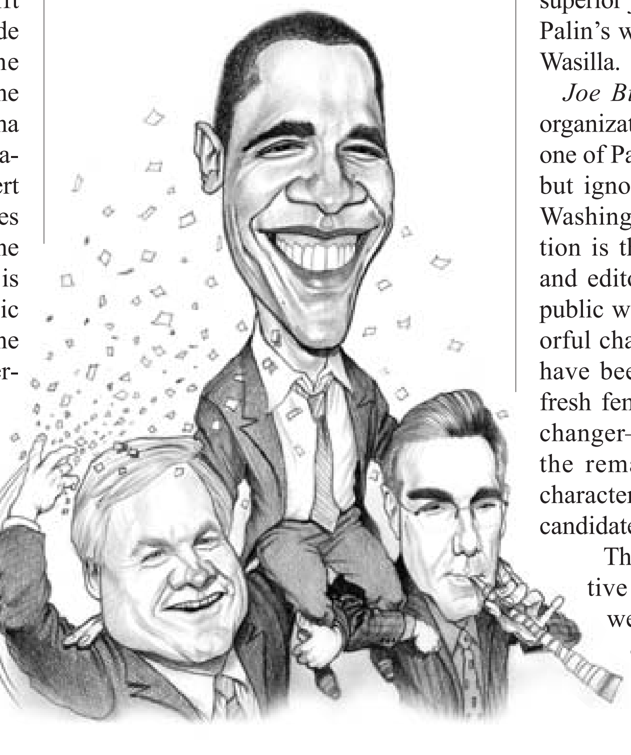
In an attempt to keep up, the declining but powerful traditional news organizations have become less objective, more attitudinal, and, correspondingly, more liberal. Straight-news reporters now clutter the front pages with opinionated "analysis" pieces; the paragons of objectivity at NBC News moonlight as sharp-edged commentators on that network's partisan cable cousin.

Though some of the new-media voices are conservative, the consequent shift in the mainstream media has in fact made it considerably more difficult for the Right to communicate policy ideas. The media's cheerleading for Barack Obama in this election was overt, and conservatives accustomed to highlighting covert liberalism were caught off guard. It does no good to denounce media bias, as the McCain campaign did, when that bias is out in the open, in full view of a public that doesn't seem to care. Consider the following aspects of the media's coverage of the election.

Iraq: As the surge strategy paid dividends and casualties declined, Iraq vanished from the headlines. Media apologists will protest that bad news is newsier—"If it bleeds, it leads"—but the media ignored major milestones that were unquestionably big stories. For example, on September 1 the U.S. ceded control of once-murderous Anbar Province to the Iraqi government. A Nexis news search for "Anbar" in the first week of September yields around 500 results. But the rumors swirling around Sarah Palin's pregnancy and that of her daughter Bristol were a much bigger story for the media that week—six times bigger, in fact. A search of "Palin" and "pregnancy" yields more than 3,000 results. It was as if the Anna Nicole Smith feeding frenzy had been transported to Alaska—and never mind that there was a war being won.

U.S. military deaths in Iraq plummeted over the course of 2008. Thirteen U.S. troops were killed in July, the fewest combat deaths in any month since the war began. That low was matched in October. Yet a Nexis search for "Iraq" and "military deaths" in the week prior to the election yields only 52 results. A search for "Palin" and "medical records" yields 63.

Instead, as fatalities fell, so did the amount of news coverage devoted to Iraq, according to the News Interest Index, a joint project of the Pew Research Center and the Project for Excellence in Journalism. Other than a few brief spikes (accompanying such events as Gen. David Petraeus's testimony before Congress and the 4,000th U.S. combat death), the line charting press coverage of Iraq from early 2007 to late 2008 is a long downward slope. News organizations shifted to covering gas prices, the economy, and the presidential campaign.



ISMAEL ROLDAN

During the campaign, Obama was asked, if only rarely, about his opposition to the surge. A few enterprising journalists even asked him if he had been wrong to oppose it. But a sympathetic press allowed him to wriggle free of these uncomfortable questions. The surge may have succeeded in reducing the violence in Iraq, Obama argued, but the Iraqi government had failed to make political progress and would continue to fail as long as our troops remained in the country. The public—and most journalists—lacked the context to see this for the evasion that it was. In truth, the Iraqi government had made steady progress on its political goals throughout 2008. By July, it had achieved 15 of its 18 benchmarks for political progress. The Associated Press scoffed that this progress was "achingly slow." It was too slow for Obama to notice, apparently, but it would have been nonexistent if he and Biden had gotten their way.

Gradually, the campaign came to dominate every other story, and Barack Obama dominated coverage of the campaign. After things stopped blowing up in Iraq, the news media lost interest in the country's progress. Thus an issue—an extraordinarily important issue—on which McCain had demonstrated manifestly superior judgment became subordinate to Palin's wardrobe and her tanning bed in Wasilla.

Joe Biden: While the national news organizations gave a megaphone to every one of Palin's enemies in Alaska, they all but ignored Biden and his 35 years in Washington. The charitable interpretation is that Beltway political reporters and editors must have decided that the public was just as familiar with this colorful character as they were. Palin may have been a more interesting story—a fresh female face and a possible game-changer—but that in no way explains the remarkable double standard that characterized the treatment of the veep candidates.

The mainstream media's investigative pieces on Biden, such as they were, tended to focus on the kind of superficial financial association—his son's ties to a lobbying firm, for instance—that journalists find more interesting than the public does. A long piece cataloguing Biden's ever-changing positions on Iraq—against the '91 liberation of Kuwait, for the '03 removal of Saddam, against the surge in '07—and his other foreign-policy missteps would have better served a public that is not always au courant with Washington's longer-serving denizens. National Review's Andy McCarthy filled the gap with just such a piece in our September 29 issue—but where were the rest of the media?

The discrepancy between the media's treatment of Biden and their treatment of Palin became painfully clear the week that Biden told a crowd in Seattle, "Watch, we're gonna have an international crisis, a generated crisis, to test the mettle of [Obama]." Biden happened to offer this stunning remark the same week that Palin's $150,000 wardrobe made news. Fifty-two percent of respondents to a Pew Research Center survey said they had heard "a lot" about Palin's wardrobe that week; only 43 percent said they had heard about Biden's comments.

The relative scarcity of the Biden story in the news prompted Dan Rather—*Dan Rather*—to remark, "Certainly if Sarah Palin had said this it would be above the fold in most newspapers today. . . . The newspapers would have jumped all over it and so would have the major television outlets." When it's obvious enough for Dan Rather, it's obvious.

Obamanomics: The mainstream media are generally terrible at conveying the details of complex policy proposals, but their laziness in describing Obama's tax plans was startling nevertheless. Countless stories referred to Obama's "tax cuts" for the middle class. Many stories additionally reported that the middle class would get a bigger "tax cut" under Obama's tax plan than under McCain's.

In fact, Obama's plan did not offer *any* tax cuts, as such. It offered tax *relief*, in the form of tax credits for a variety of targeted activities. Obama proposed a tax credit for college tuition and an expansion of the existing tax credit for child care. Not all tax credits are objectionable; indeed, McCain offered similar tax credits, though not as large. But it is sloppy to call them "tax cuts," a term better used to describe reductions in tax rates.

It is true that, excluding McCain's health-care tax credit, Obama's plan offered more tax relief to the middle class. But there was absolutely no reason for any reporter to exclude McCain's health-care tax credit when comparing the candidates' plans. When the health-care plans are factored in, McCain offered more tax relief to the middle class. McCain's health-care tax credit was arbitrarily excluded.

McCain's health-care plan also became the subject of a deceptive ad campaign, funded by Obama's historically deep and mostly unscrutinized campaign coffers. The ads claimed that McCain's health-care tax credit would go "straight to the insurance companies, not to you, leaving you on your own to pay McCain's health-insurance tax." A few media sources took the trouble to point out that this was a flat-out lie, and that no one would pay more in taxes under McCain's health-care plan. But at this time most of the media were busy accusing McCain and Palin of fomenting racial hatred every time some bigot unaffiliated with the campaign yelled something offensive at an open event. So much for wanting to talk about "the issues."

The McCain campaign complained mightily about these and other instances of media malpractice, and the public shrugged. In perhaps the most blatant case of overt bias against McCain, *New York Times* executive editor Bill Keller said that each complaint from the McCain campaign made him want to "find the toughest McCain story we've got and put it on the front page, just to show them that they can't get away with it."

When the top newspaper editor in the country is openly discussing his strategy to attack the Republican nominee through the news pages and almost no one cares, complaining about bias just isn't going to accomplish much.

The mainstream media have staked their future on Obama; that was evident in the way they conducted themselves during this campaign. Economic and political forces are driving notionally objective news organizations toward overt partisanship. Now is the time to invest in conservative alternatives and work to secure mainstream recognition for conservative voices. The media game has changed, and we have to get better at playing it. **NR**

Not Dead Yet

There's life in the old GOP—if it will fight

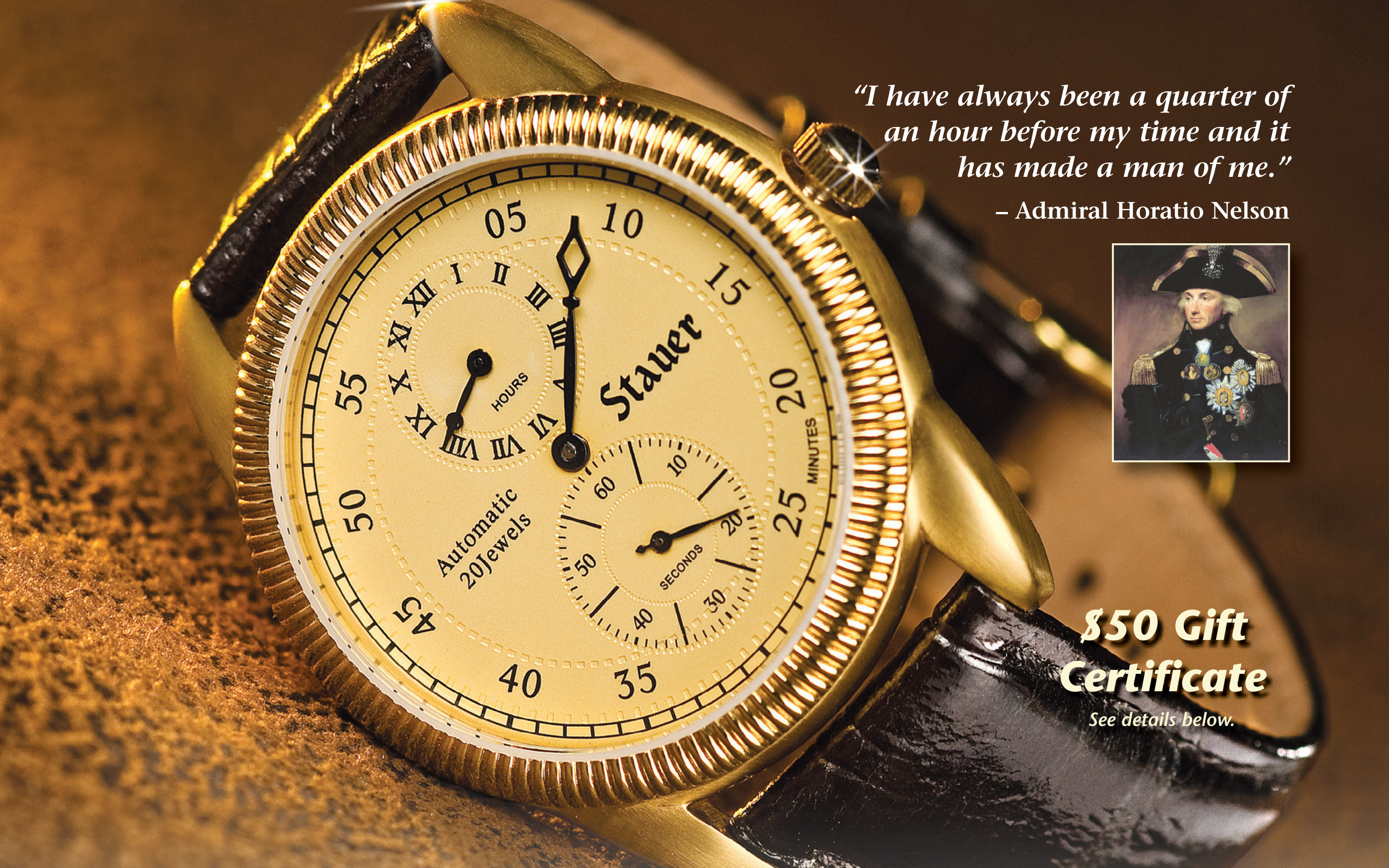
JOHN O'SULLIVAN

A week before Jimmy Carter was inaugurated in 1977, I picked my way gingerly across an ice-glazed central Washington to the Mayflower Hotel to attend an ISI dinner at which former candidate Ronald Reagan was to address about 300 conservative scholars. Reagan had narrowly lost the GOP nomination five months before. The smart money, I was told, believed that the former California governor in his mid-60s would now retire honorably and leave the field to a younger generation of conservatives.

Two hours later, 300 people were giving Reagan a standing ovation after a speech in which he had called for a "New Republican Party" that would bring together economic conservatives and working-class Democrats who were conservative on the social issues (chiefly crime, abortion, busing, and quotas). At a string of late-night parties in the Mayflower's corridors the scholars, getting less scholarly by the minute, were shouting that the "Old Man" was running again. And Reagan's second, successful bid for the presidency had been launched.

As a visiting British journalist I was thrilled to be present at this historic moment. But when I reviewed the papers and Sunday talk shows for their assessment of Reagan's return, I could find almost no mention of it. With the exception of a short but characteristically shrewd article from Lou Cannon in the *Washington Post*, it had been a non-event. Except for the gallant 300, everyone was discussing the incoming Carter administration, who was In, who Out, and what would be the "theme" of Jimmy's inaugural.

This near-obsession was not confined to the Beltway. For the following three weeks I crisscrossed America as a guest of the United States Industrial Council lecturing on the "British Disease." Almost everywhere I went, there was enthusiasm even among conservatives for Governor Carter.



"I have always been a quarter of an hour before my time and it has made a man of me."
– Admiral Horatio Nelson

$50 Gift Certificate
See details below.

Why The French Hate This Watch

Wear a stunning timepiece from history that's victorious from Time Square to Trafalgar Square.

The Battle of Trafalgar was the naval equivalent of a shutout. In the most decisive sea battle of the Napoleonic Wars, the French navy and its allies lost a total of 22 warships. The British lost none. Napoleon's dreams of world conquest were squashed and Britain's Admiral Horatio Nelson became a national hero...posthumously. To pay proper homage to Britain's legendary sea commander, we directly modeled the Stauer ***Admiral Nelson*** Timepiece after the gold pocket watch found on Nelson when he was felled by the French.

Built by legendary British watchmaker Josiah Emery in 1787, the original watch recently sold at auction for more than $637,000. For much of the 18th-century, the British were the world's most respected and dominant watchmakers.

Bringing history to life. This unique timepiece replicates the extremely rare, "regulator" movement that counts minutes along the outside dial while hours and seconds are clocked in separate complications. The automatic, 20 ruby-jeweled movement allows the balance wheel and escapement to function in perfect harmony. A mineral glass crystal protects the antiqued, ivory-colored dial. The watch fastens with a crocodile-embossed leather strap and is waterproof to 3 ATM.

The exhibition back affords a view of the 20 jeweled movement and accurate inner works.

Turning Back the Clock on Watch Prices. Fine automatic watches historically cost as least $1,500. When it comes to inflated prices, we prefer to rewrite history. Incredibly, the ***Admiral Nelson*** Timepiece can be yours for **less than $200!** The exceptional detail and rugged construction of the Nelson means you'll enjoy admiral quality at a midshipman price. But if for any reason you are not thrilled with the Nelson Timepiece, simply return it within 30 days for a full refund of your purchase price. This watch is a limited edition of only 4,999 pieces.

WATCH SPECS:
- Yellow gold-fused case and back
- Automatic 20-jewel movement
- Crocodile-embossed leather strap
- Fits a 6 1/4"–8" wrist

Authentic Stauer Historical Reproductions

The Stauer Admiral Nelson Timepiece
MSRP ~~$875~~ *Now...*$195 +S&H *or*
4 zero interest payments of *only* $48.75 +S&H. And, for a Limited Time—
$50 Gift Certificate* *With Each Purchase
(Limit 2 per customer. Must accompany returns)
Call now to take advantage of this limited offer.

1-800-298-7655

Promotional Code ANW118-01
Please mention this code when you call.

Stauer
14101 Southcross Drive W.,
Dept. ANW118-01
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337
www.stauer.com

Smart Luxuries—Surprising Prices

He was seen as likely to bring a provincial American's virtue to the corrupt capital. It was whispered that he insisted on democratically carrying his own luggage. And after the inauguration, when he disdained the usual limousine and walked down Washington's streets to the White House waving to the crowd, the media went into ecstasies over his egalitarian simplicity.

All that seems funny in retrospect because the Carter administration turned into the biggest shipwreck since the *Titanic*. Carter himself proved no more virtuous than Ford or most other presidents (and considerably more small-minded than some of them). And the failures of the Carter years provided Reagan with the opportunity to win over the working-class Democrats who were conservative on social issues.

To be sure, Reagan had in readiness a well-crafted strategy to appeal to these new conservatives. But would that strategy have won the election and changed history if Carter had been a roaring success? Probably not. Much of the breathless flattery that is today directed towards the incoming Obama administration will seem equally absurd once the new president has left office. Even though the election of the first black president is genuinely more "historic" than Carter's new southern Democracy, the zeitgeist in the media and the Beltway has been so adulatory towards Obama that he is bound to fall short of its audacious hopes. He seems well aware of this himself and will probably move soon to dampen these expectations. But because we cannot know the precise failures of an Obama administration in advance, we can only dimly envisage his future vulnerabilities and how the GOP might exploit them. Any future Reagan must plan in the dark.

The first step for the GOP is to be impressed but not over-impressed by Obama's election. All parties claim their every victory as the "most important election of our lifetime," a historic realignment, an irreversible shift of power, etc., etc. Some in the media are even more goggle-eyed with less professional excuse. The *New York Times* regularly hails Democratic victories as harbingers of Utopia and Republican ones as, at best, necessary pauses for breath on the march there. It memorably dismissed Reagan's 1984 landslide as an expression of affection for the president entirely lacking in political significance. That kind of thing gives post-partisanship a bad name. Skeptics would do well instead to imitate the cool distance of Hilaire Belloc, who commented on his party's landslide victory in the 1906 British general election:

> The accursed power which stands on
> Privilege
> (And goes with Women, and
> Champagne, and Bridge)
> Broke—and Democracy resumed her
> reign
> (Which goes with Bridge, and Women,
> and Champagne).

In reality Obama's victory fell short of historic. Its margin was small; it did not suggest wholesale defections from the GOP; and there was no single great issue that determined victory and that might therefore have presaged a realignment.

Consider, first, the margin. Obama won 53 percent of the popular vote to McCain's 46 percent. This was a substantial victory but well short of a landslide for the Democrat. McCain's percentage is a marked improvement on the 41 percent achieved by Senator Dole twelve years ago. And this relatively modest defeat for the Republicans came after a series of political failures, in the middle of a financial crisis, in the face of unprecedented media bias, against an unusually attractive and polished Democrat, when all measures of public opinion showed a growing disquiet about the nation's direction, following an erratic campaign by a Republican who was heartily disliked by his party's conservative base. It might have been much worse.

Look, second, at the components of the defeat. There were some interesting trends, such as a large swing of the very rich to the Democrats. In the main, however, this was an across-the-board shift to the left in almost every group, whether defined by income, ethnicity, class, education, ideology, whatever.

Odd though it may sound, there is comfort in this. It suggests that the GOP's defeat was not the result of driving away particular electoral groups on specific issues. The party was suffering a general unpopularity arising from policy errors as different as monetary policy and immigration.

True, black Americans voted for Obama almost unanimously, but that was a personal achievement. It is unlikely to be readily transferable to a later candidate. Obama's election over time may even loosen the Democrats' grip on (typically) 85 percent of the black vote by assuring black Americans they are fully integrated into U.S. society and can thus afford to follow their divergent interests rather than seeking power through solidarity as a quasi-independent bloc. It is a paradox of politics that an excluded group, once accepted into the national "majority," often rewards its political patron by defecting to the party of the majority. That may finally happen to black Americans 150 years after the Civil War.

But Hispanics neither swung to the GOP because John McCain pandered desperately to them on immigration, as some Republican strategists had hoped, nor deserted the party because its congressional representatives had sunk the two amnesty bills in 2006 and 2007, as the media constantly predicted. Instead, by giving the GOP 31 percent of their national vote—not out of the ordinary, in a losing year for Republicans—Hispanics confirmed their status as a 2–1 split vote for the Democrats. In future they will shift leftwards if more poor Mexicans enter the U.S., thus increasing the pool of welfare-minded voters, or rightwards if fewer do so, thus strengthening the incentives for assimilation.

The lesson for the GOP, however, is encouraging. Though all voters will take time to forget their recent disappointing record, Republicans can reasonably hope to win back most of those they have lost this year as memories fade and fresher Democratic failures replace them.

This relative stability is linked with the third issue—namely, the fact that there was no great issue dividing the parties and determining the election. Instead, the parties differed on what seem quite small and technical details in tax, health care, spending programs, and (by Election Day) Iraq and Afghanistan. Oddities there certainly were: Obama won more voters in favor of tax cuts largely because McCain gave the impression of not really believing in his own tax policy. Both candidates endorsed an "amnesty bill" policy towards immigration in opposition to the voters; so they quarreled over trivialities and kept immigration out of the campaign. The financial

How Does This 69-Year-Old Doctor Have The Body Of A 30-Year-Old?

CENEGENICS®
medical institute

Jeffry Life, MD, pictured at age 67, after Cenegenics as featured in GQ magazine. ***This photo is not enhanced in any way.***

Dr. Life, pictured at age 57, before Cenegenics.

GQ suggests it's the path to ***reversing the signs and symptoms of aging.*** It's also gotten the attention of *Today, 60 Minutes, Nightline* and *Vogue.*

Find out more about the Cenegenics program, a unique and balanced combination of nutrition, exercise and hormone optimization, when clinically indicated.

BENEFITS MAY INCLUDE:

Decreased Risk of Age-Related Disease
Improved Muscle Tone
Decreased Body Fat
Increased Energy
Increased Sex Drive
Sharper Thinking

At Cenegenics®, patients are successful business people and professionals. In fact, more than 1,500 of their 15,000 patients worldwide are physicians and their families. **Call today to speak one-on-one with a Cenegenics medical doctor. Strictly confidential, no obligation. Register online to receive the *GQ* article and *The Complete Guide to Healthy Aging.***

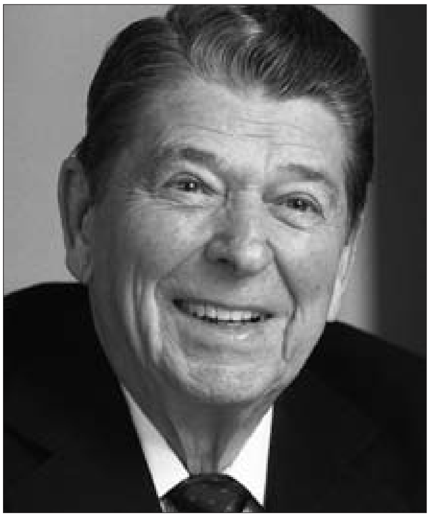
Call 866.350.8799
Register www.cenegenics-nr.com
No Insurance and No Medicare Accepted

crisis was probably the key issue pushing the election towards Obama, but that was because he seemed the calmer of the two in handling it. Both of them supported the policy of bailing out Wall Street. And so on. Realignments and major historical shifts are almost always linked to massive single issues such as slavery that divide parties, destroy some, and force whole regions or blocs of voters to switch parties and even to create new ones altogether. Nothing like that happened in 2008.

If Obama's victory was not necessarily "historic," it should not be written off. Victories give politicians the levers of power and so the possibility of moving societies in new directions. But societies have minds of their own and often resist or even move in the opposite direction. Such clashes are rarely predictable in advance. A look at three 20th-century elections will demonstrate:

In 1932, FDR won a landslide because the Depression made voters desperate for change. As Amity Shlaes has shown in her history of the period, Roosevelt initially continued Hoover's policy more than he changed it. But because he was a first-class personality, he initially invested some of the same policies with a sense of adventure, possibility, and success. Obama certainly has the capacity to do that. But though Roosevelt was later able to exploit the divisions of a society in which most blue-collar workers had little savings to introduce Social Security, Obama would find the same kind of trick far harder in an America with 401(k)s and a large investor class. Universal health insurance would be his best bet here, because that is the main locus of middle-class insecurity. But it would be a high-stakes game with no assured outcome. Even FDR was losing popularity until the threat of war rescued him. But he had established a new Democratic supremacy in politics.

In 1964, LBJ won a landslide of Reaganite proportions and seemed to have killed off the nascent conservative rebellion in the form of the Goldwater campaign. In retrospect that victory was the last triumph of the Roosevelt coalition. Goldwaterism was one sign—a misleadingly negative one—of the rising discontents that undermined and divided the FDR coalition and that soon became the Sixties revolution. In his superb book on the consequences of the Kennedy assassination, James Piereson has outlined how liberals embraced a pessimistic and punitive form of cultural politics, formerly held mainly by radical leftists, in response to the assassination. With liberals becoming radicals, the field was open for conservatives and the GOP to win over culturally conservative Democratic blue-collar workers. Two years later the Democrats lost heavily in the off-year elections. Two years after that, LBJ withdrew from the Democratic primaries rather than face defeat. Later that year Nixon won narrowly in a close three-way race (that included the Dixiecrat George Wallace). But no side seemed able to win outright. And the Sixties revolution and counterrevolution continued their winding struggle until Carter's 1976 victory.



The Reagan analysis still rings true.

BOB GALBRAITH/AP

That election was a narrow victory for Carter. But it was hailed as the restoration of Democratic supremacy. And, more significantly, it was seen by many in the Carter administration as the first opportunity for the new, radical, post-FDR Democratic party to implement its radical vision. It was against that background that Reagan delivered his speech to the ISI dinner and, a few weeks later, a more substantial version of the same argument to the annual CPAC conference.

In that second speech the Gipper cited the following opinion-poll results as evidence for his belief in a New Republican Party: "A Harris poll released September 7, 1975, showed 18 percent identifying themselves as liberal and 31 percent as conservative, with 41 percent as middle of the road; a few months later, on January 5, 1976, by a 43–19 plurality, those polled by Harris said they would 'prefer to see the country move in a more conservative direction than a liberal one.'"

As it happens, the exit polls taken at the 2008 election show a surprisingly similar breakdown of the electorate. Voters who described themselves as liberals came to 22 percent of the electorate, moderates to 44 percent, and conservatives to 34 percent. The social composition of those voters is naturally somewhat different than in 1975; blue-collar workers are more likely to be conservative and the rich are more likely to be liberal. In 2008, there was a 17-point shift of voters earning more than $200,000 annually into the Democratic column. Reagan's success in creating a New Republican Party produced new social tensions that, over time, were bound to create new political loyalties. Such shifts are now changing both the social and the ideological character of both parties.

Yet it does not seem that the Reagan coalition is gradually breaking down, as the FDR coalition finally had by 1980. The exit-poll figures above suggest that Reaganism is resilient. Reagan's 1977 analysis of the political character of the struggle still rings true: "A majority [is] trying to assert its rights against the tyranny of powerful academics, fashionable left-revolutionaries, some economic illiterates who happen to hold elective office, and the social engineers who dominate the dialogue and set the format in political and social affairs. If there is any ideological fanaticism in American political life, it is to be found among the enemies of freedom on the left or right."

And the broad political success that Obama needs to kill off the Reagan coalition and substitute his own may yet elude him as it eluded Carter but favored Reagan.

One day the Reagan coalition will be replaced by something else from either left or right. As Margaret Thatcher reminded us in her final Tory conference speech, "There are no final victories in politics." But there are no certain defeats either—until they happen. At present the GOP still has more than a fighting chance to remain America's natural governing party.

Of course, that means it will have to fight. **NR**

VOL. CLVIII....No. 35 Natural Science News "For Your Health"

Breaking Research News

Life is short...or maybe not.

Top Harvard researcher says it's "the Holy Grail of aging research."*

Don't wait for the drug companies to drive the price through the roof; get the benefits of this breakthrough *natural* extract for pennies a day!

BOSTON, MA—Leading medical scientists are learning that resveratrol, a natural substance found in red wine, is rewriting the rules on the science of aging.

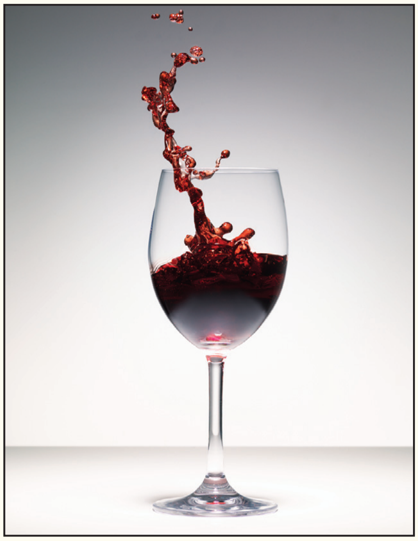
Researchers at the **Harvard Medical School** and the **National Institute on Aging** already discovered that the red wine extract offset the negative effects of a high-calorie diet in mice and significantly extends their life span (*NY Times*, Nov 2, 2006). Now, the latest research indicates that resveratrol may been even more powerful than first anticipated.

At this moment, drug companies are rushing to create prescription drugs that mimic the awesome health benefits of this simple natural extract. A leading pharmaceutical company has already spent $760,000,000 on purchasing the research and development.

The powerful secret of tomorrow's anti-aging pill can be yours today.

You may have thought that an anti-aging pill would only be available far into the future. But the effects of resveratrol have been proven as scientific fact... today. Even better, resveratrol is a naturally-occurring substance found in the skin of grapes and red wine, not manufactured in some laboratory. The key to living longer may be found inside your favorite bottle of red wine.

But don't try to drink yourself healthy, because it would take **50 bottles day**! Now there is a way to take resveratrol without the alcohol, calories and high cost. Vinotrol™, with 50mg of resveratrol derived from grapes and roots, provides the equivalent of the resveratrol in **278 five ounce glasses of Pinot Noir.**



"We have something (resveratrol) that **extends the life of every species** it's (been) given to. We're 50 years ahead of where I'd thought we would be 10 years ago," said a leading professor of pathology at Harvard Medical School, reported by the *NY Times.*

Such a potent concentrate delivers all of resveratrol's remarkable benefits, promoting circulation, blood flow, immune system, energy and healthy arteries.

Has the "The French Paradox" finally been explained?

Resveratrol is conjectured to be a partial explanation for "The French Paradox," the puzzling fact that people in France enjoy a high-fat diet yet suffer less heart disease than Americans and live significantly longer lives (in some cases up to 40%).

Even though French diets are crammed with loads of bread, cheese, rich cream sauces and decadent desserts... the resveratrol in red wine may have acted as their secret weapon. It is thought that the resveratrol protected them against unhealthy triglycerides, high cholesterol and skyrocketing blood pressure.

Harvard Medical School, Johns Hopkins, Salk Institute and UC Davis Medical Research Proves That Powerful Red Wine Extract Holds the Secret to Living a Longer, Healthier and More Vibrant Life

Trick your body into "aging in slow motion"

Reduction in cholesterol, body fat and oxidation is believed to help slow the age process considerably. Not only will you feel better, but the powerful antioxidants in Vinotrol™ will help fight the premature signs of aging. Resveratrol will help protect the collagen and elastin in your skin, which can lead to fewer wrinkles and a more youthful appearance.

Can you live years longer and feel years younger?

What's the point in living longer if you're not going to live better? Resveratol floods your system with powerful antioxidants and helps flush out lipids and free radicals. Combined with the extra boost to your brain, immune system and everyday energy, you'll wonder how you ever went without this red wine wonder.

Don't wait decades for giant drug conglomerates to figure out a way to charge you a fortune for the same benefits you can get for pennies on your own. Call today!

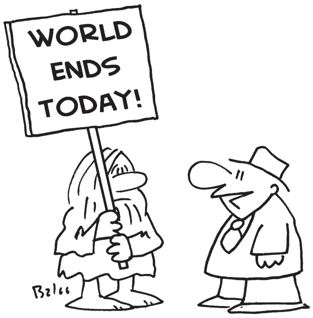
Having a Hard Time Finding Vinotrol™?

The manufacturer and the laboratories of Vinotrol™ are so confident in their anti-aging technology that they are offering a 30-day, risk-free trial offer. You must call immediately to qualify for the limited number of trials that are available. Start your new anti-aging program today with your risk-free supply of Vinotrol™ (50 mg resveratrol) for just a small s&h fee. Call toll-free 888-767-1834.

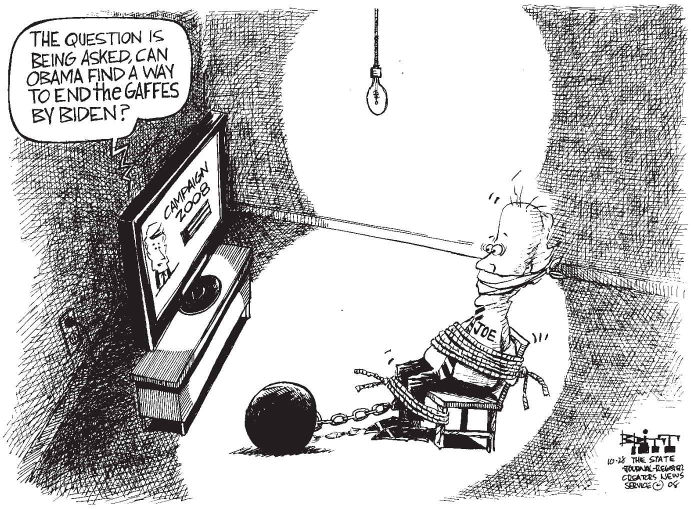
Call 888-767-1834 to get your Vinotrol™ 30-Day Risk Free Trial Offer Today!
Mention Promotion Code 2VNR11A for a Free Upgrade!

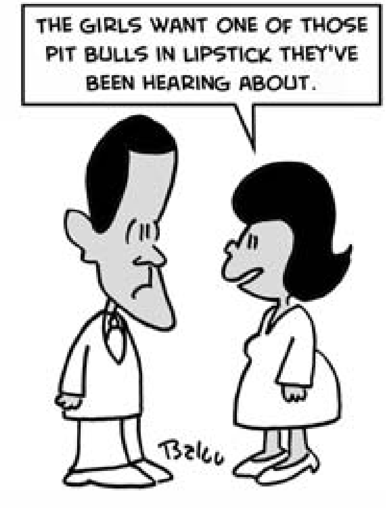
*These statements have not been evaluated by the FDA. This product is not meant to diagnose or treat any disease. Vinotrol is not endorsed, associated or affiliated in any way with Harvard University, Johns Hopkins, Salk Institute or UC Davis Medical. * CBS News, Nov 1, 2006*

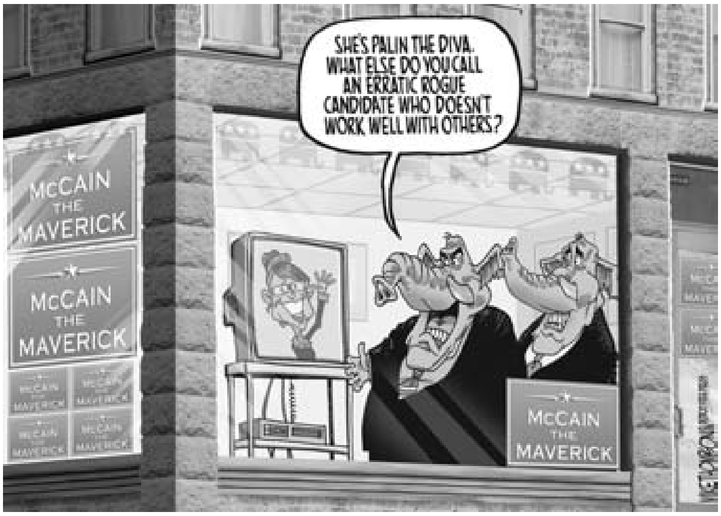
HELP!!!!

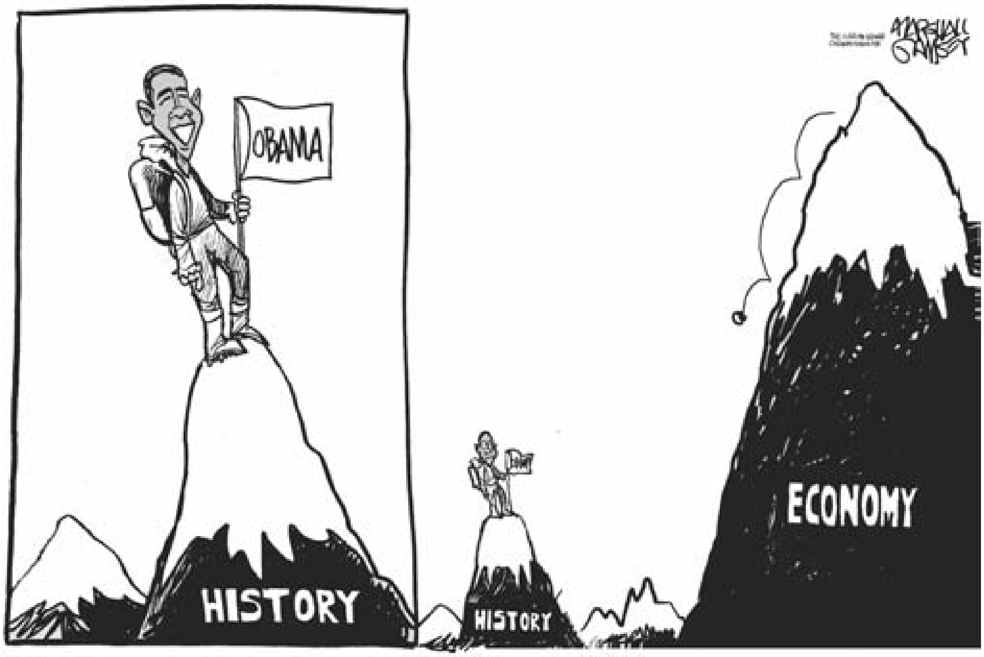

WORLD ENDS TODAY!

"You say that like it's a bad thing."


THE QUESTION IS BEING ASKED, CAN OBAMA FIND A WAY TO END the GAFFES BY BIDEN?
CAMPAIGN 2008
JOE
Britt
10-28 THE STATE JOURNAL-REGISTER CREATORS NEWS SERVICE © 08


THE GIRLS WANT ONE OF THOSE PIT BULLS IN LIPSTICK THEY'VE BEEN HEARING ABOUT.


SHE'S PALIN THE DIVA. WHAT ELSE DO YOU CALL AN ERRATIC ROGUE CANDIDATE WHO DOESN'T WORK WELL WITH OTHERS?
McCAIN THE MAVERICK
McCAIN THE MAVERICK
McCAIN THE MAVERICK


OBAMA
HISTORY
HISTORY
ECONOMY
MARSHALL RAMSEY

the long view

ROB LONG

Transcript: *Larry King Live!* January 12, 2012

LARRY KING: Tomorrow night! The cast of *High School Musical One* meets the cast of *High School Musical Eighteen*! From Baton Rouge, hello!

CALLER: Hi, Larry. I was wondering if your guest ever feels lonely?

LARRY KING: How about it? Is it lonely rattling around the Capitol Building over there? Empty chairs and meeting rooms and whatnot?

CONGRESSMAN SMITH: Well, sure, Larry, it's weird. I mean, look, when I was first elected to Congress, I just sort of expected that there would be, you know, other Republicans around.

LARRY KING: Right. Two-party system. That whole bit.

CONGRESSMAN SMITH: Right. And then it was the '08 election with Obama and then we had the '10 midterms when it all went down, and that night I was watching Fox News—I mean, what used to be Fox News—

LARRY KING: Fairness Doctrine II! Takes a chomp outta Murdoch's media empire!

CONGRESSMAN SMITH: Yeah.

LARRY KING: What do they show on that now? Old movies?

CONGRESSMAN SMITH: Shopping, I think.

LARRY KING: Shopping! Diamondique, friends!

CONGRESSMAN SMITH: Anyway, there I was watching the old Fox News and looking at this huge blue map and there was only one small speck of red. Me.

LARRY KING: A speck! A speck on a map and that's all she wrote! This weekend! The whole hour with the reanimated corpse of Fred MacMurray! From Oklahoma City, hello!

CALLER: Hi, Larry. I'd like to know how your guest feels he's treated by the Democrats?

LARRY KING: Good question. Gotta be some hazing, right? You're the only one, you've got no one else in your caucus meetings. They control everything. Do you sometimes just sit there in one of those big empty offices and just cry?

CONGRESSMAN SMITH: Well, no, Larry. I mean, I've got a job to do. I may be the only Republican left in the Congress, but that doesn't mean I should just give up. Sure, there were some little pranks—they moved my office into the hazmat area, and they rearranged the buttons on my phone.

LARRY KING: Doesn't sound too bad.

CONGRESSMAN SMITH: And they passed a law requiring me to give Daniel Inouye a daily sponge bath.

LARRY KING: Well, he's a handsome man.

CONGRESSMAN SMITH: Honestly, Larry, if you saw him squatting in the bathtub, you wouldn't say that.

LARRY KING: Fair enough!

CONGRESSMAN SMITH: But other than that, it's been okay. They give me a few minutes each week to walk around the building and stretch my legs, and some of them have said nice things to me when I do my tax-cut speech.

LARRY KING: What do they do, what's that called when they pull up your underpants from behind?

CONGRESSMAN SMITH: A wedgie?

LARRY KING: A wedgie! Do they give you those?

CONGRESSMAN SMITH: No, Larry.

LARRY KING: What's the other word for it? Melvin? A Melvin! Wedgie or Melvin—I don't really care what they call it. Honestly, I give myself one at least four times a day. I need the support, you know? Thursday! The whole hour with the cast of *2*—have you seen *2*?

CONGRESSMAN SMITH: Is that what they're calling *24*?

LARRY KING: Right! Instead of saving the world and taking 24 hours, the hero guy just talks to the bad guys for two hours and reaches out to them. It's a different type of approach. Not as sexy.

CONGRESSMAN SMITH: I don't have access to television.

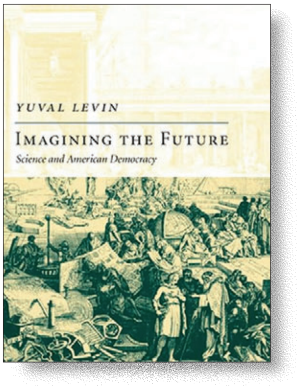
LARRY KING: What about Speaker Pelosi? She was on last week and said you were being extremely cooperative.

CONGRESSMAN SMITH: You know, Larry, I have to say—and I say this to all of the Republicans in the country, when we get together on Tuesdays at the Outback Steakhouse by the airport—Speaker Pelosi has been wonderful about all of this. I remember when she reached out to me. I think it was at Sean Hannity's public hanging, and there we all were, all dressed up, and she came over to my seat and put her arm around me and said—and I think she was sincere, Larry, I really do—and she said, "Congressman, let's get through this, and then Roger Ailes's show trial, and then you and I are going to sit down and talk about how to move forward." And Larry, she has been true to her word. I've got no complaints. I'm included in a lot of stuff, invited to listen in on the committee meetings, permitted to use the vending machines. Seriously. It's not that bad.

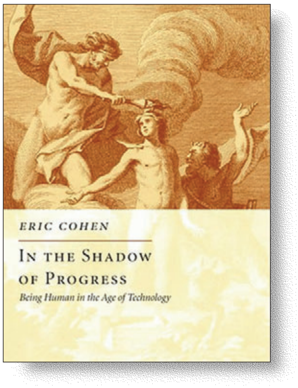
LARRY KING: A man alone! Falling back on personal resources and so forth! Sounds like a book! Or a movie! Next week! From federal prison! The last interview with former senator Joe Lieberman before he receives a lethal injection! And then, Ryan Seacrest!

books, arts & manners

Brave New Volumes



Imagining the Future: Science and American Democracy, by Yuval Levin (Encounter, 200 pp., $21.95)


ERIC COHEN
IN THE SHADOW OF PROGRESS
Being Human in the Age of Technology

In the Shadow of Progress: Being Human in the Age of Technology, by Eric Cohen (Encounter, 180 pp., $21.95)

WESLEY J. SMITH

EVERYTHING is political today, and science is no exception. The Left is accused of pushing an ethics-be-damned "science *ьber alles*"; traditionalists who dare to express even the most reasonable concerns about the awesome powers of biotechnology are dismissed as harbingers of a new Dark Age of superstition. Seeking to pour the water of cool reason on these fires comes a relatively new national voice, Yuval Levin, whose new book, *Imagining the Future: Science and American Democracy*, analyzes the proper place of science as mediated by politics and morality in a democratic society.

Levin is a political conservative. He served as a White House adviser on scientific issues, and is now a fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center and a contributor to NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE. Yet, despite being a well-scarred veteran of the stem-cell wars, Levin writes with an admirable lack of rancor as he argues that science is served—rather than hindered—by respectful political debate. For as Levin sees it, science is "neither quite a conservative nor a liberal project. It is the American project." His book doesn't attempt to stack the deck in favor of the conservative side. Indeed, if anything, with some significant caveats, liberalism comes across as having the stronger case.

Levin traces the current political zeitgeist to a radical alteration of first principles that began about 300 years ago. He notes that the ultimate purpose of political communities used to be to help citizens live "the virtuous life." In contrast, today our primary goal is *protection*, which has come to mean not just keeping the barbarians outside the city gates but also the *prevention of suffering*, first and foremost by promoting human health.

This focus has, of course, created a better life for people than the world has heretofore known, with longer lifespans and more robust societies. Yet as virtue has received less attention, utilitarianism has risen. Levin writes: "We have begun to see the darker moral consequences of the preeminence of health. The pursuit of health does not necessarily conflict with other virtues and obligations, but in those cases when it does conflict with them it tends to overcome them."

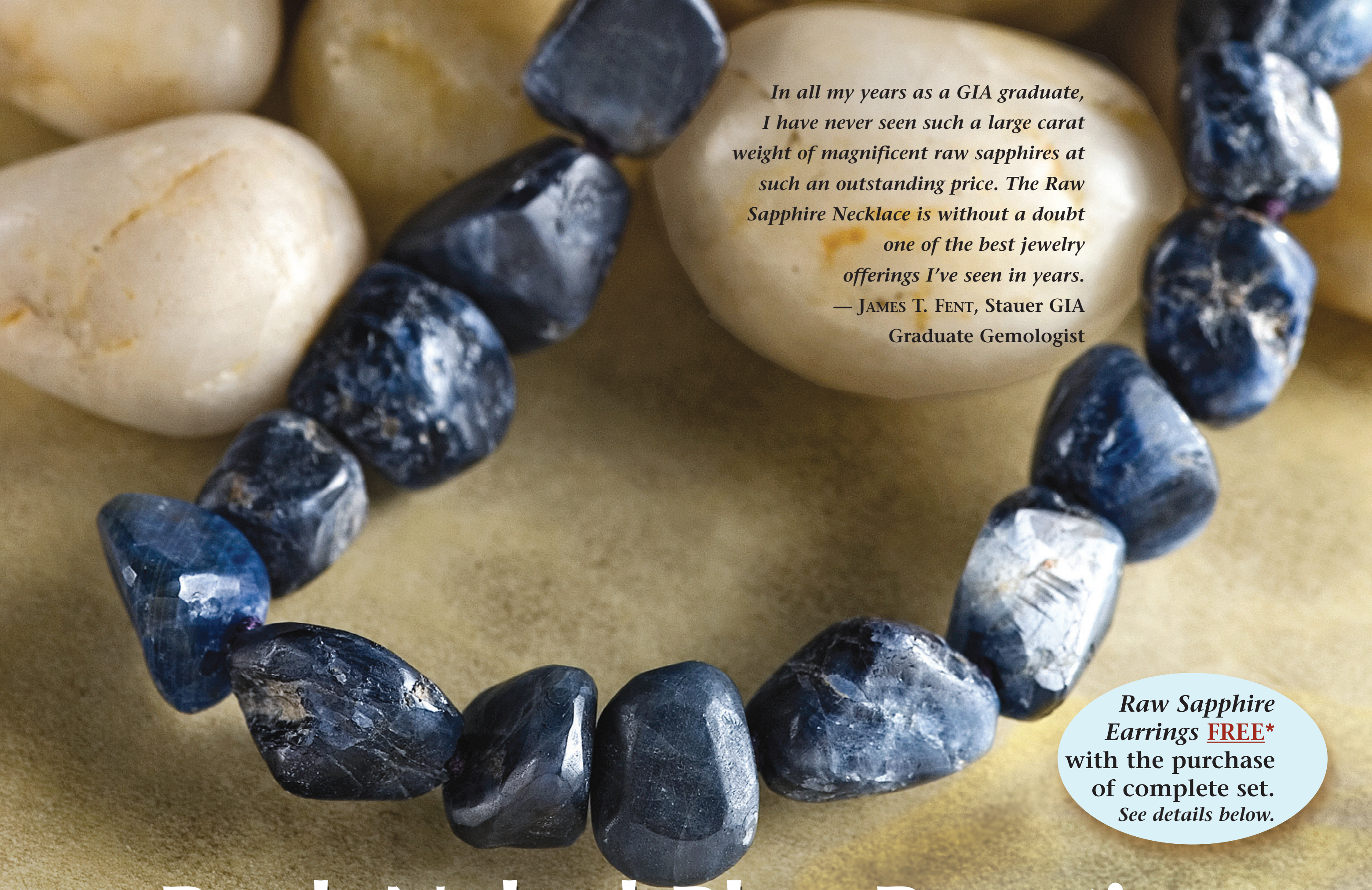
Levin explores this phenomenon in the stem-cell controversy, with a brief side trip into the Darwin Debates. But unlike previous books written about stem cells—including one by this writer—Levin's doesn't seek to convince readers that his side is right. Rather, he hopes to explain us to each other, in the hope that we can restore the civility a democratic society needs.

Levin is generous to those with whom he disagrees, for example in accepting the modern Left's self-definition as "the party of science." The Left's "egalitarian, liberationist, progressive, [and] highly rationalized" mindset that is "always looking forward" is responsible for the birth of modern science—but, Levin warns, the Left's fervent embrace of scientific rationality has also sometimes taken priority over its oft-stated ideal of universal human equality. This happened with eugenics, and seems to be happening again as the Left adopts a view of science as "the only source of objective knowledge."

As Levin tries to explain the yearnings of the Left to conservatives, so too he explains to liberals that while conservatives can "sometimes overreact" to the potential abuses of science, the Right's prime motive is the perfectly respectable one of promoting cultural continuity—which is essential if society is to remain stable enough to foster the very ideals of equality and freedom that the Left champions. This presents a problem, Levin writes, because conservative arguments are founded in the "unspoken wisdom" and awe of the taboo, without which no society can function. Relying on a culture's unspoken wisdom as a basis for democratic argument is paradoxical: "The very act of defending taboos in the public arena requires us . . . to transgress them—or at least to uncover them in ways that undercut them."

Perhaps, but I think Levin's analysis is incomplete. While the worry about lost "awe" may be a prime concern of conservative intellectuals, a far more immediate and practical worry motivates the grassroots activists trying to protect us against

Mr. Smith is a senior fellow in human rights and bioethics at the Discovery Institute and a special consultant to the Center for Bioethics and Culture.



In all my years as a GIA graduate, I have never seen such a large carat weight of magnificent raw sapphires at such an outstanding price. The Raw Sapphire Necklace is without a doubt one of the best jewelry offerings I've seen in years.
— James T. Fent, Stauer GIA Graduate Gemologist

*Raw Sapphire Earrings FREE**
with the purchase of complete set.
See details below.

Buck Naked Blue Beauties

Feast your eyes on a colossal 350 carats of raw sapphire.

For centuries, blue sapphire has been known as the stone of destiny and desire. History's most powerful men have used the gem to woo the world's most desirable women. From King Solomon and Queen of Sheba to Napoleon and Josephine, the seductive powers of sapphire are legendary. Today, the presentation of large blue sapphires is still a grand romantic gesture. Each rare gem pulses with the passion of the ages. But it is most likely that few of these great romances have been privy to anything like a stunning 350 carat necklace of midnight ocean blue sapphires.

That old blue magic. Look closely into the ethereal blues and you can see why sapphires are just as desirable today as when the ancient Persians believed that they colored the sky. Thankfully, a trusted gemologist discovered a selection of large beautiful uncut sapphires and we bought his entire find. Each naturally mined blue stone is unique, and has the striking color and hardness that make sapphires famous (scoring a 9 out of 10 on the Mohs scale, the sapphire ranks second only to diamonds as the hardest gem on the planet). After polishing, we realized that the gemstones were perfect as they were… as nature intended.

Naturally uncut, simply stunning. There's just something absolutely mesmerizing about a polished, uncut rare gemstone that faceted stones can't match. Each raw blue stone is unique. The colors include swirls of milky blue, with accents of deep violet and blue-black midnight. Pluck any of the high fashion magazines off the rack and you'll see that "polished and uncut" gemstones are popping up on haute couture runways from New York to Milan for prices starting at over $5000.

We were the last to believe that "350 carats" and "affordable" could be used to describe the same necklace. But our trusted sapphire source found a limited quantity of these extra large stones at a terrific price. Wear and admire this remarkable ***Raw Sapphire Necklace*** for 30 days. If for any reason you are not satisfied, simply return them to us for a full refund of the purchase price. But, once you experience 350 carats of rare deep ocean blue gemstones, destiny and desire will take over.

JEWELRY SPECS: - 350 ctw natural raw sapphire necklace
- Necklace adjustable from 16" to 18" - Bracelet adjustable from 7" to 9"
- Fastens with a sterling silver lobster clasp.

Raw Sapphire Necklace (350 ctw) *Your price* **$99** +s&h
Raw Sapphire Bracelet (150 ctw) *Your price* **$79** +s&h
Raw Sapphire Earrings (15 ctw) *Your price* **$59** +s&h **FREE***
Raw Sapphire Set (515 ctw) ***Special price*** **$178** +s&h **SAVE $59**

Call now to take advantage of this limited offer.
1-800-572-6468

Promotional Code RSN127-02
Please mention this code when you call.

Stauer
14101 Southcross Drive W.,
Dept. RSN127-02
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337
www.stauer.com

Smart Luxuries—Surprising Prices

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SEARCH OUR ARCHIVES HERE

AND OTHER LEADING JOURNALS OF OPINION ON THE PROGRESSIVE AND CONSERVATIVE SIDES; 1,000,000 PAGES OF HISTORY AND CULTURE.

HARPERS
THE NATION
THE NEW REPUBLIC
COMMONWEAL
COMMENTARY
NATIONAL REVIEW
NACLA
THE NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS
THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR

HTTP://METASEARCH.OPINIONARCHIVES.COM

OPINION ARCHIVES

Brave New World agendas. Listen to conservative grassroots protests against human cloning, and you will hear clarion calls against a threatened utilitarian hegemony that is using science as a front to promote the concept of human expendability. It is the immediate prospect of the killing of human beings and the harvesting of their organs that has movement conservatives so alarmed. While Levin chews at the edges of this concern—e.g., in his discussion of the threats to human dignity—he does not explore it frontally. And that's too bad, because it is the realistic observation that the Left is embarking on a new eugenics that liberals most need to "get": *This*, and not the mere erosion of taboos, is the real root of the controversy.

Still, Levin's book is a badly needed tonic to our cultural dyspepsia. By assuming the best about both sides of the debate—and objectively analyzing their strengths and weaknesses—Levin exemplifies a rare and eloquent non-combative public intellectualism that could help lead us to an important compromise, one that promotes the robust pursuit of science without sacrificing the most fundamental precepts of morality.

Eric Cohen, former consultant at the President's Council on Bioethics and Levin's colleague at the Ethics and Public Policy Center, has also recently come out with a book on this general subject. *In the Shadow of Progress* is a sober and deeply spiritual contemplation of "being human in the age of technology." Cohen and Levin are friends and share a worldview, but their books serve radically different purposes. Where Levin seeks to calm storms, Cohen's plainspoken advocacy of respecting human dignity at all stages of our existence seems sure to ignite a hurricane of offense among rigid secularists. Cohen's clearly stated purpose is to "lean against America's faith in progress . . . by exploring its incompleteness as an answer to man's deepest longings—the longing to be loved, the longing to be virtuous, the longing to be redeemed." And while Cohen makes it clear that he is not anti-science—his book begins with a paean to the powers of modern medicine that saved the life of his newborn son—he is unapologetically religious in his Judaism, and profoundly respectful of tradition.

His philosophical stand is decidedly iconoclastic. The key to a good life, he argues, is marriage and fecundity, which he calls "the deepest form of fidelity to one's civilization." By having a large family and raising children in the tradition of our forebears, we not only guarantee cultural continuity—Levin's primary concern—but promote a human happiness that comes from living a truly good life and experiencing a good death. This theme permeates every bioethical issue Cohen explores. He argues that treating nascent life instrumentally is bad for the national soul, and believes that these controversies will determine the future morality of our civilization: "The debate about embryos is the right debate for a mighty nation to have. It is the right test of our character, and the right reminder of the proper limits of our dominion in the world."

Cohen also worries about the West's declining demographics. In a chapter titled "Why Have Children?" he grasps for an argument to persuade live-for-today secularists that they are the real losers when they reject bearing large families. But he and his target audience do not share a common frame of reference, and so he struggles: "By seeing the present in light of the past and the future, the happiness-seeking individual will perhaps make room in his home for a new generation to seek happiness after he is gone. . . . In our children the future—our families, our people, and our beliefs—is at least given a chance." That's a very noble sentiment. But to accept it, I think, one must at least acknowledge the possibility of a far larger reality than can be observed in the present moment—not God necessarily, but *something* incorporeally meaningful capable of embracing the importance of posterity. And therein lies the rub: Cohen believes he has found an oasis, but the modernists he seeks to persuade consider the water he offers them to be mere sand. The missing ingredient that distinguishes what his eyes see and theirs don't is faith. And while that is something that can be sought, it cannot be willed.

Cohen's final chapter, "In Whose Image Shall We Die," is his most interesting. In his worldview, the "good death" most worthy of emulation is "the remembered death," epitomized by that of the Patriarch Jacob. Even here, at life's end, children and family play the crucial role for Cohen, giving both strength to the dying and meaning to his or her having existed. Thus, Cohen recounts, when Jacob's children come to his deathbed, he "faces death frontally, manfully, without illusions . . . still in command even as his body shuts down." Cohen admiringly writes that "Jacob's death, in the end, is not ultimately about him, but about the way of life that he wishes to persist after he is gone. . . . He addresses each one of his children . . . for he knows that the fate of his divine purpose rests on their shoulders."

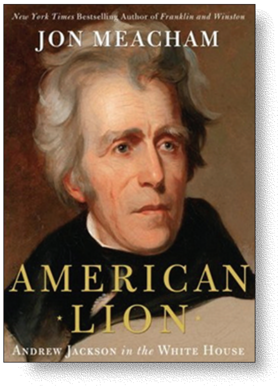
This, for Cohen, is the ultimate wisdom that could stave off the Brave New World: Live life the way God intended, be fruitful and multiply, accept with unconditional love the family you receive, and die when your time has come surrounded by family, willingly forgoing extraordinary medical interventions that may grant extra breaths but not extra meaning. He writes: "We need to recover, as best we can, Jacob's way of dying well, *naturally*, without endless machines or swift poisons; surrounded *by his children*, all assembled at the bedside and prepared to honor the dying patriarch by having children of their own; *frail but upright* with neither the delusion of endless life nor the burdens of an extended decline into dementia."

Yes, but . . . there is a distinct danger here. While I don't think Cohen means it this way, his depiction of the good death could be construed to presume that those who are unable to summon the strength of Jacob, or who become dependent or demented, are somehow less dignified, less worthy of being remembered well, perhaps even less human. That too would be dehumanization. That too would be to sacrifice our culture's soul.

Nonetheless, *In the Shadow of Progress* is a rare work. Many readers may not agree with its prescription, but will still have to honor the meticulous thought and care that it embodies.

One last point: Both of these fine books illustrate the importance of the mentor. Levin and Cohen both matured as thinkers in the philosophical shop of Leon Kass, and both gratefully acknowledge his influence. They could be fairly called his philosophical sons, but they are not his clones: The pedigree is clear, but their approaches are not identical to his. The books thus demonstrate that important ideas are, as Cohen wrote about children, filled with the "promise of perpetuation" down the generations. **NR**

Backcountry Boy


New York Times Bestselling Author of Franklin and Winston
JON MEACHAM
AMERICAN LION
ANDREW JACKSON in the WHITE HOUSE

American Lion:
Andrew Jackson in the White House,
by Jon Meacham (Random House,
483 pp., $30)

MICHAEL KNOX BERAN

Andrew Jackson was the first president to come from beyond the mountains. He was also the first president of North British, Scotch-Irish stock. His predecessors in the presidential chair came from Virginia or Massachusetts: They were shaped by the blood and culture of the Tidewater Cavaliers or the New England Congregationalists, and their ancestors came mainly from the south of England. (Monroe's antecedents were, indeed, Scottish, but they were thought to have been Cavaliers, and at all events the family had been long settled in Virginia.) Jackson was a departure from the tradition, and many resented him for it.

His language was not refined; he pronounced the word "end" as though it rhymed with "fiend." John Quincy Adams thought him "a barbarian who could not write a sentence of grammar and hardly could spell his own name." A woman who had known him in his youth was startled to learn that he was a candidate for the White House: "What! Jackson up for president? *Jackson*? *Andrew* Jackson? . . . Well, if Andrew Jackson can be president, anybody can!"

Mr. Beran is a contributing editor of *City Journal*. His most recent book is *Forge of Empires 1861–1871*.

As the selection of Gov. Sarah Palin as the Republican vice-presidential candidate this year amply demonstrated, the fault-line between the culture of the backcountry and that of the cities and the coast persists. In his new study of Jackson, *American Lion*, *Newsweek* editor Jon Meacham describes the essential elements of the backcountry culture that framed "Jackson's universe—clan, church, and country." Revise the vocabulary slightly and the formula accurately describes the culture of the American heartland today, where family, God, and country remain the organizing principles of life.

The highbrows of the cities and the coast consider this heartland culture too primitive to be taken seriously. Meacham, however, shows that there is more to the backcountry than meets the eye. The foundation of Jackson's "worldview," Meacham writes,

> most likely came from his childhood Sundays in South Carolina, where he spent hours soaking in 18th-century Presbyterianism. He attended services at the Waxhaw meetinghouse throughout his early years, and these childhood Sabbaths are worth considering in trying to solve the mystery of how a man with so little formal education and such a sporadic—if occasionally intense—interest in books developed his sense of history and humanity. . . . From his babyhood, then, Andrew Jackson probably spent between three and four hours nearly every Sunday for about 14 years hearing prayers, psalms, scripture, sermons, and hymns.

Meacham is persuasive in his contention that this immersion in Biblical poetry helped Jackson, later in life, to shape a compelling political narrative. The "rough-hewn Jackson," Meacham writes, "understood the poetry of politics better than Calhoun, Clay, or Webster. His foes were speaking in prose, making technical arguments. Jackson was formulating a poetic narrative drama in which he was the hero defending the interests of the people against the powerful."

The mandarins will raise their eyebrows at the assertion, but those who, like Jackson, have been thoroughly tasked and lessoned in the Bible are often on more intimate terms with the old poetic culture of the West than the typical Ivy Leaguer today, who, though he has been exposed to the classics in school, has been so in only the most superficial way. The theory that the mind benefits from close and scrupulous study of classic texts was long ago discarded by most educators. Matthew Arnold, for his part, could never understand why. "A schoolboy, who, as they did in the times of ignorance at Eton, read his Homer and Horace through, and then read them through again," Arnold said, "and so went on until he knew them by heart, is not, in my opinion, so very much to be pitied." Today this kind of apprenticeship in the poetry of Athens or Jerusalem is largely limited to those who, as John Ruskin said of his own upbringing, begin "with the first verse of Genesis" and go "straight through, to the last verse of the Apocalypse; hard names, numbers, Levitical law, and all." Ruskin had no doubt of the value of this education: The "habitual music" of the Scriptures, he wrote in *Præterita*, "established my soul in life."

The highbrows' condescension is unwarranted. The heartland presidents have been among the nation's most inspired defenders of the citizenry's liberty of action.

Mothers were often, in the American backcountry, the dominant force in the transmission of higher culture. Though he was just nine when Nancy Hanks Lincoln died, Abraham Lincoln sensed in his mother a refinement that his boorish father lacked, and he traced the origin of all his loftier aspirations to her. The pattern was similar in Jackson's case. His father died before he was born; it was his mother who encouraged him to raise his sights. "Elizabeth Jackson wanted her Andrew to be a minister," Meacham notes, "an ambition for him that may have been among the reasons he was able to envision himself rising to a place of authority."

Astute as he is in his analysis of the value of Jackson's Bible poetry, Meacham is less careful in his assessment of the other sources of the backcountry, ultramontane culture that shaped the seventh president. In 1830 Jackson's Kentucky ally, Francis Preston Blair, argued that the states'-rights doctrine of nullification appealed to those "men, who, like Caesar, would rather reign in a village, than be second in Rome." Blair's "more sophisticated readers," Meacham writes, "may have heard an echo of John Milton's description of Lucifer in *Paradise Lost*." Blair, however, was alluding, not to Milton, but to Plutarch, who described Caesar's reaction to the politics of an obscure barbarian hamlet in the Alps: "For my part," Caesar said, "I had rather be the first man among these fellows than the second man in Rome."

Those who lack formal education often have an almost mystical veneration for classical learning. Recalling the backcountry world in which he grew up, Lincoln said that if "a straggler supposed to understand Latin happened to sojourn in the neighborhood, he was looked upon as a wizard." The backcountry leaders of Jackson's day were versed in Plutarch and Tacitus. During a strenuous life Jackson himself found time to master the classical-republican vocabulary of virtue and corruption; as president he applied it in his analysis of the corrupting effects of the second Bank of the United States.

Highbrows will probably always underestimate the products of the heartland culture from which Jackson arose. Emerson thought Lincoln a "clown." Reagan was deeply influenced by his Middle Western mother, whose traditions were those of Scotch-Irish Protestantism; the magnificos of Washington pronounced him an amiable dunce.

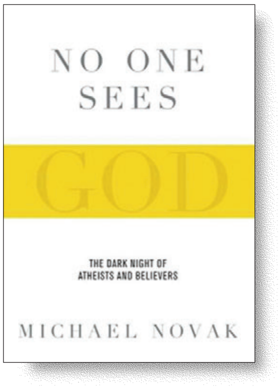
The condescension is unwarranted. The heartland presidents have been among the nation's most inspired defenders of the citizenry's liberty of action. Meacham identifies the Jeffersonian paradox at the heart of Jackson's concept of a strong executive: "Jackson wanted the presidency to be central, but he was less interested in a centralized government, believing that such consolidation (as his contemporaries often called it) led to the rise of special interests." Jackson rejected consolidationist government because he thought it vulnerable (in a way more limited forms of government are not) to corruption. He is perhaps best placed, not in the line of strong consolidationist presidents (such as Wilson and the Roosevelts), but in that of the strong anti-consolidationists (such as Jefferson and Reagan).

Jackson's classical-republican dread of corruption illuminates his opposition to the second Bank. The Bank was a private institution, not a government entity, but (like Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac in our own time) it enjoyed a cozy relationship with official Washington. Such coziness was, Jackson believed, an invitation to corruption. He accused the Bank of maintaining its privileged position by converting itself into a "permanent electioneering machine," one that did favors for lawmakers in exchange for support. A financial institution that profited from its association with the government but was not subject to its oversight could lead, Jackson said, to another "South Sea bubble." It was for this reason that he vetoed a bill to renew the Bank's charter and withdrew the government's deposits from the institution.

Jackson vindicated, in his age, the ideal of limited government. According to Meacham, he "believed the less government interference with the market, the better." He vetoed spending bills and opposed tax hikes for "irregular, improvident, and unequal appropriations of the public funds." In 1835 he paid off the last penny of the national debt. At the same time he kept up the country's reputation abroad; he pointed to Washington's words as the *beau ideal* of American foreign policy: "There is a rank due to the United States among nations which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be ready to repel it. If we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are, at all times, ready for war."

With the important exception of his injustices to blacks and Indians, Jackson left an admirable record. Particular crises may require temporary enlargements of federal power, but Jackson was right to insist that as a rule the best government will limit itself "to a general superintending power to maintain peace at home and abroad, and to prescribe laws on a few subjects of general interest not calculated to restrict human liberty." **NR**

Out of Darkness



No One Sees God: The Dark Night of Atheists and Believers, by Michael Novak (Doubleday, 336 pp., $23.95)

JOHN WILSON

WHAT *hasn’t* Michael Novak written about in the course of his long career? Whether the subject is sports in American life or the meaning of ethnicity, *The Experience of Nothingness* or *The Catholic Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Novak is illuminating and unfailingly large-spirited. Indeed, so generous is the tone of his new book that criticism seems positively ungrateful. But perhaps Novak will be as indulgent toward carping reviewers as he has been toward Christopher Hitchens and his antics.

No One Sees God is rather like that fabled four-cornered pie in Gogol’s *Dead Souls*: “In one corner put the cheeks and dried spine of a sturgeon, in another, some buckwheat, and some mushrooms and onions and soft roe, and, yes, some brains, and something else as well.” Novak’s book is in part a response to the so-called New Atheists. He gives Richard Dawkins, Sam Harris, and Daniel Dennett short shrift, but he finds Hitchens a more worthy antagonist, devoting an entire lengthy chapter to the arguments and *obiter dicta* laid down in Hitchens’s bestseller, *God Is Not Great*. Two more chapters are given over to arguments about the existence of God with Novak’s unbelieving friend and colleague Heather Mac Donald, who is based at the Manhattan Institute.

Mr. Wilson is editor of *Books & Culture* magazine.

In the second half of the book, Novak steps back and offers his own ruminative reflections on these matters, which have long preoccupied him, most notably in *Belief and Unbelief: A Philosophy of Self-Knowledge*, first published in 1965 and issued in a third edition in 1994. He concludes with a chapter proclaiming “the end of the secularist age,” heralding not a return to Christendom but rather “a prolonged, intelligent, and respectful conversation” that will reject “outmoded ways of drawing lines” pitting faith and reason against each other. In the same vein, Novak’s epilogue asks atheists and believers to treat one another with the respect he has modeled throughout the book: “Neither the atheist nor the believer sees God. Both must live in darkness. Both must try to figure out from many clues, gleaned from here and there, who they really are in this vast cosmos, in this tiny arc of the universe, on this spinning blue-green ball, possibly insignificant among the galaxies, asteroids, cold dead planets, and even deader moons.”

Hmm. We will come back to those even deader moons. By now you’ll have a sense of the book. Readers will be inclined to take a taste from this corner of the pie, a taste from that corner, and this one kitty-corner, “and something else as well.” They will find many excellent bits, such as this one:

> It is also significant that no one can come to this God [that is, the God of Judaism and Christianity] except by personal freedom. Many of His first believers at times turned against Him. A few were faithful to Him freely, often at great personal cost. Every story in the Bible has as its dramatic axis an act of liberty. At one time the same human being is unfaithful to God, and at another faithful, and the suspense in the next chapter is, What will he or she choose next?

Nevertheless, *No One Sees God* is a very unsatisfactory enterprise. Most egregiously, in correcting against smug conceptions of faith, Novak proposes a misleading symmetry, as we saw earlier: “Neither the atheist nor the believer sees God. Both must live in darkness.” This is doubly muddled. First, it is a non sequitur. No one sees God—yes, in one sense that is true, God being spirit and utterly beyond our ken. And yet it doesn’t follow from this that we “must live in darkness,” for God makes his presence known to us in many ways (if we trust the Book of Nature, the Scriptures, and the experience of the faithful). Indeed, God became man and lived and died among us, and his Spirit—invisible, yes, though the fruit of his animating goodness is quite tangible—indwells and inspires.

In an interview in the Fall 2008 issue of *The Paris Review*, Marilynne Robinson is asked, “Is religion a way to feel comforted in the face of death?” And here is Robinson’s answer: “Faith always sounds like an act of will. Frankly, I don’t know what faith in God means. For me, the experience is much more a sense of God. Nothing could be more miraculous than the fact that we have a consciousness that makes the world intelligible to us and are moved by what is beautiful.”

An interesting answer—that “sense of God” is informed by Robinson’s deep immersion in the Reformed tradition—but let me add that, had the interviewer pressed such a question on, say, my grandmother (a city missionary in Illinois, then a mission-

LEGACY
WHAT WILL YOURS BE?

What will you bequeath to future generations? How will the ideals you cherish *now* be sustained *then*? Who will articulate your principles for the sake of your grandchildren, your faith, your community, and your country?

There is an answer.

With your help, *National Review* will endure as a powerful voice, sustaining those beliefs you hold dear. Now. And for future generations. As ever, standing athwart history, yelling Stop.

To obtain more information about remembering *National Review* in your will or estate, please contact:
National Review, Legacy
Attn.: Paul Olivett
215 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016
814-883-8067
polivett@nationalreview.com

ary in China), she would have responded with a simple yes, not troubling to tease out the patronizing nuances of “a way to feel comforted.”

After all, we have nothing to be embarrassed about in claiming such comfort, the ultimate consolation. And this is why Novak is doubly muddled here—because, if belief has any foundation (if it isn’t merely wishful thinking, as of course it may be; perhaps death really *is* the end of the story), then it is terribly misleading to say of the atheist and the believer that both must live in darkness. Here Novak appears to be indulging in rhetorical flights, as he did now and then in *Belief and Unbelief*: “Stripped of all consolation—as he sometimes, even often is—the believer can only continue to do what he must do.” *Often?* How often—and how does Novak know?

It is one thing to offer such testimony as a matter of personal experience, if that is what Novak is drawing on here, and very valuable, especially insofar as it gives courage to others in the same boat. If you have ever so much as held the hand of a lifelong believer now raddled by dementia—lost, frightened, confused, seemingly bereft of blessed assurance—you have glimpsed the reality of which Novak speaks. But it’s another thing entirely to infer from such personal testimony the experience of belief and believers generally—to make the “dark night” somehow *normative* of belief. In these rhetorical gestures there is a certain *frisson* that a detached observer may find rather silly: hence those “galaxies, asteroids, cold dead planets, and even deader moons” we met above.

And yet, and yet . . . I am truly grateful for Novak’s book, not least as the father of four grown children the two eldest of whom left the faith even before they left home, and haven’t yet returned to its credos and consolations. Despite the muddle—as I see it—Novak is quite right to insist on how vast is our unknowing. This is a truth we are particularly in danger of forgetting today, as we domesticate God and prattle about him with bumptious certainty. But it is a truth that must always be held in tension with another: that, as our hymns and carols affirm, we enjoy against all reasonable expectation an intimacy with the Creator of the universe. **NR**

■ MUSIC ■

Celebrating Horne

JAY NORDLINGER

Publicists wrote me to say, “Marilyn Horne is about to celebrate her 75th birthday. And her foundation is about to celebrate its 15th. Would you like to interview her?” Let me give you a word of advice, dear readers: When you have a chance to talk with Marilyn Horne, don’t pass it up. She is not only one of the greatest singers who ever lived (yes, who ever lived—since man first opened his mouth to make a sound). She is an extremely smart, interesting, and fun woman.

I had a couple of hours with her in her New York apartment, overlooking Central Park. Around the apartment are busts of Rossini, Schubert, and other gents with whom Horne has been friendly. There are also pictures of her grandchildren: the three of them. “Someone said that having a grandchild is like falling in love again,” says Horne. “And it’s so true.”

She started out in Bradford, Pa., did this legendary mezzo-soprano—and I remember that she had some hard things to say about Bradford in her memoirs, published years ago. I ask whether she retains any ill feelings toward the town. No, she says: none. “I think I was disappointed, because when my father tried to get people to subsidize me in some way—to go to Europe or whatever—they declined.” I ask whether Bradford claims her now. “Oh, yes! As a matter of fact, there’s a bust of me in the new concert hall.”

The amazing Horne girl finished her growing up in the L.A. area. And she speaks of “a gilded time in my life,” from about age 17 to age 22. She rehearsed with Stravinsky in his home, she heard Aldous Huxley speak, she ran into Schoenberg, though “I never got to know him.” (His widow, she knew very well.) And then there were the many Hollywood figures: such as Judy Garland, with whom she once sang during a party at Rock Hudson’s.

She eventually married Henry Lewis, a double-bassist and conductor. He was the first black player in a major symphony orchestra, the first black conductor to lead a major orchestra: a pioneer. Horne speaks of him frequently during our conversation together. “He was quite something. We divorced, ultimately, but I miss him very greatly. He’s been dead now for quite a while” (1996).

Naturally, we talk a fair amount about singing, and Horne says this: “A lot of us are born with voices that work—but you have to put an awful lot into it,” with studying, practicing, being coached, and so on. “It’s a very hard profession. I have argued with ballet dancers that it’s the hardest there is—singing.” And the challenge is as much mental as physical: actually, more. And a singer is, roughly speaking, as Horne says, “half artist, half athlete.”

Like plenty of others, she is not too pleased about some shifts in opera today. For example, “you’ve got many lighter voices singing things that should be sung by heavier voices.” Take the role of Mimì, in *La Bohème*: “My Mimì, when I was coming along, was Renata Tebaldi, and she had probably the biggest voice I have ever heard. Renata had a *huuuuge* voice—I think it was even bigger than Birgit’s.” That would be Birgit Nilsson, the Swedish Wagnerian. “Birgit had a laser beam on hers, but Renata also had a laser beam,” and more. “Now I’m hearing

---

THE FINAL TOAST

I drink to the house past all repair,
To the evil of my lifetime, to
The isolation that we share,
I also drink to you;

To lips betraying me with lies,
To the world, severe and grave,
To the deadly coldness of the eyes,
To God, Who did not save.

—ANNA AKHMATOVA
June 27, 1934
translated by Jennifer Reeser

lyric sopranos—light lyrics—sing Mimì, and that's not for me."

Reviewing some singers of the past, I ask about Ebe Stignani, Horne's mezzo forebear. "Wow," she says. "I mean, that's a wow. She was absolutely great." She also has something highly, highly interesting to say about Marian Anderson, the beloved contralto: She was magnificent, of course. But she also had "technical deficiencies," as everyone knows. And, in truth, "she might have been a soprano"—a soprano who never developed in that direction.

And how about two great mezzos of Horne's own time, Christa Ludwig and Janet Baker? She has nothing but glowing things to say about each. In early days, "Christa and I sang madrigals of Gesualdo together, with Hindemith conducting, in Vienna." How about that? As for singers on the scene today, we spend some time on René Pape, the German bass: "Unbelievably great," says Horne. I concur, of course, but suggest that, in some Italian roles, he is not especially Italianate. Horne isn't really buying: "I just love him, in everything he does—and there just aren't voices like that around."

We turn to conductors, including Leonard Bernstein—who "had so much to give. One could learn so much from Lenny, just by having a meal with him." And she says something funny about George Solti. Solti would say to her, "You're flat, darling, you're flat!" (Think Hungarian accent.) Now, Horne's intonation was the envy of the music world. "I think George heard high," she says.

She is a great lover of popular music, which is to say first-class popular music: Gershwin, Porter, Arlen, and the like. She is also a wonderful exponent of such music: Anyone who heard her sing "In the Still of the Night" will never forget it. Horne has admired many a pop or jazz singer, but I ask who really did it for her: Ella, Sarah, Peggy? "Lena," she says—her fellow Horne. They became good friends, and Lena would tell her, "We're sistahs under the skin." Were they ever confused for each other? Yes, from time to time. "One of my closest friends went to a recital of mine, and the woman sitting behind her said, 'But I thought we were going to hear *Lena* Horne!'"

Speaking of recitals, this institution is not doing very well in America—the recital, I mean. And that is one of the problems that the Marilyn Horne Foundation seeks to address. The foundation trains, supports, and encourages young singers—and it dots the country with recitals. If the recital eventually dies, perish the thought, it will not be the fault of Marilyn Horne.

Does she ever sing for herself, alone in her room, for example? Not really, she says. But she teaches a lot, and she does a good amount of demonstrating in her teaching. Also, she'll listen to Sinatra CDs in her car—and sing along with them. "Now they're in the right keys for me," she notes. (The historic Horne instrument is getting lower.) And look: She does some demonstrating in this conversation of ours, too. For example, she sings a little of the aria from *Oedipus Rex*. She imitates Pavarotti at the end of "Pourquoi me réveiller." She even imitates Schwarzkopf singing "Danny Boy"! (And no, you can't listen to my tape—well, maybe we can talk about a fee.)

Birthday girl

JULIE JACOBSON/AP

Horne had a phenomenal technique, being a virtuoso of the voice: "No one taught me to sing coloratura," she says. She just did. And she had a stunning range stretching two and a half octaves. That is a true accounting. Don't believe those who claim a bigger range, for themselves or others. Horne puts it this way: "I hear people talk about having three-octave ranges, and I say, 'Bullsh**!'" Quite right.

Our conversation turns to Gustav Mahler, who loved the mezzo voice, and wrote immortal music for it. Horne sang it all, including the solo part in the Second Symphony, known as the "Resurrection." (Actually, she sang the solo part for soprano, too.) She relates something extremely personal, and perfectly understandable, to me: Her brother was killed in a plane crash. And "I could not get over it, it was such a blow. I just walked the floor at night with the headphones on, listening to the 'Resurrection,' trying to find some peace. It took me about ten years to put that one on the backburner."

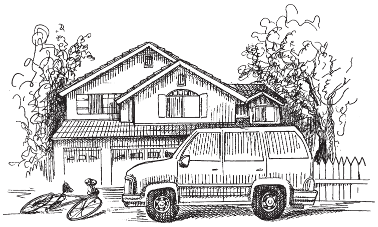
I ask whether there's any music she feels closer to now than she once did. She answers, "You know, I've become so partial to Brahms. I just love Brahms. He makes me feel good when I hear his music, when I sing it, when I teach it." She was one of the great singers of "Von ewiger Liebe," an especially good Brahms song. "It has a little story in it," she says. "And that's one of the great things I learned from Lotte Lehmann: You make each song a story."

Before we part, Horne talks about her health, her family. She is overcoming pancreatic cancer—the disease from which Pavarotti died last year. They talked about it quite a bit toward the end of his life. And she speaks to me again about her much-loved grandchildren. Many singers—I could name you a few—never had children, and feel it keenly. Horne has a vivid memory of Tebaldi: "When she would see pictures of my grandchildren, lights would come into her eyes. 'Oh, you're so lucky to have these children,' she would say. I always tell my students, especially the women: 'Don't miss that, if you can help it. Having children is worth it—especially when you get old.'"

At her doorstep, I mention that I have already done two pieces on her for NATIONAL REVIEW. The second was a Horne-at-70 number. She exclaims, "And now we have Horne at 75—thank God!" She has a lot to be thankful for, yes, and so do those who have heard her—at La Scala, in her living room, wherever. **NR**

■ THE STRAGGLER ■

No, We Can't



JOHN DERBYSHIRE

I KNOW, I know, we are the land of opportunity. Log cabin to White House! Anyone can be anything! Up by the bootstraps! TV talking heads, motivational speakers, pastors and pedagogues, all want to tell us—and especially our children—that we are each a hissing, throbbing little pressure cooker of potential. If we will only hitch our wagon to a star, we can be all we want to be. Yes, we can!

Here is *New York Times* reporter Deborah Solomon interviewing sociologist Charles Murray, following publication of Murray's latest book, *Real Education*.

> DS: Europeans have historically defined themselves through inherited traits and titles, but isn't America a country where we are supposed to define ourselves through acts of will?
> CM: I wonder if there is a single, solitary, real-live public-school teacher who agrees with the proposition that it's all a matter of will. To me, the fact that ability varies—and varies in ways that are impossible to change—is a fact that we learn in first grade.
> DS: I believe that given the opportunity, most people could do most anything.
> CM: You're out of touch with reality in that regard.

That little exchange, and some remarks by one of the presidential candidates about special-needs children, stirred some memories. Forty years ago, not long out of college, with a bachelor's degree and a teacher's qualification to my name, I spent a year teaching special-needs children.

"Children" is not quite right. For one thing, this was a secondary school, ages 12 to 16. For another, they were all boys, this being England, and English secondary schools of all kinds being single-sex as often as not at that time. And for a third, this was a slum district in Liverpool, a rough port city where slum children grew up fast.

In England there was a system (now defunct) of special schools for students deemed to be in need of unusual attention. There were at least half a dozen official categories: schools for the severely retarded, emotionally disturbed, deaf, "delicate," and so on. Our boys were Educationally Sub-Normal. Without their having any known physical, mental, or emotional abnormality, they had finished their primary schooling still unable to read or do basic arithmetic.

That year of teaching a class of ESN boys was a total-immersion course in the nature/nurture controversy. The administrator at the city education office who offered me the job was a nurturist of Ms. Solomon's stripe. "They're not bad boys," he assured me. "They just missed out on too much of their primary schooling. Not enough truant officers. . . . And they come from bad homes, many of them."

That last part at any rate was true. The school was in Edge Hill, not far from the city center. (The local railroad stop was the last before the main Liverpool terminus. Liverpudlians, who cherish a pawky style of wit, used "getting off at Edge Hill" as a synonym for *coitus interruptus*.) The streets were all 19th-century terraced row houses. The district might have had a shot at being poor-but-cozy, except that "urban renewal" was under way, the old row houses being demolished street by street, the inhabitants relocated to soulless, distant "estates." Edge Hill wasn't just a slum, it was a demoralized slum.

The stories we heard from the school nurse (who went to boys' homes) and the local police station's juvenile liaison officer (frequently at the school) were grim. Was it really the case, in prosperous late-1960s England, that a father would supplement the family's supply of firewood by removing alternate boards from the stairs? Or that a twelve-year-old boy should not know the function of toilet paper? My colleagues, the nurse, and our policeman assured me that such things were quite normal.

Though rough, the boys were surprisingly easy to handle. In part this was because, as my colleagues said bluntly, they were so slow-witted, it was easy to outfox them. They were given tests every year, including a frank IQ test, on which most scored in the 70s or low 80s. There was nothing wrong with any of them, and many were cheerful and pleasant boys, but there was no mistaking the fact of their being . . . dim. Dimness also helped weed out the really hard cases, who would embark on a criminal career at age 13 or 14. Too clueless to evade detection, they would be caught at once and whisked off to Juvenile Hall to be someone else's problem.

Why were they so dim, though? We discussed this endlessly in the staff room. A young idealist, I very much wanted it to be nurture. Such awful environments! And missing so much primary schooling, as most of them had! My colleagues—dedicated men all, and a couple of them close to saintly in their determination to find what could be found in these lads, and to do what could be done for them—were pretty solidly for nature. In the pungent Liverpool manner, the topic was discussed as: "Does the pig make the sty; or the sty, the pig?"

It was depressing work, with little to show for months of effort. Perhaps the most depressing thing of all was that none of the boys was very capable at anything. To play soccer, for example, needs a modicum of thought as well as some minimal physical fitness. Our boys could not rise to it. The masters–boys soccer match was a rout of them, strapping 15- and 16-year-olds, by us, wheezy desk-wallahs with a median age around 40. Up to that point I had assumed that even seriously unintellectual people must have *some* ability at *something*. That this is not necessarily the case is one of the saddest true things I ever learned.

Charles Murray is right. Ability varies, and not much can be done to change it. By no effort of will, applied from no matter how young an age, could I come to play the violin like Yehudi Menuhin, or golf like Tiger Woods. And yet, of course, this bleak fact is dispiriting and destructive, while Ms. Solomon's airy fiction is affirmative and inspiring. Tragic truth, or festive falsehood? The will needs a goal, said Nietzsche, *er braucht ein Ziel*, and we'd rather will Nothingness than not will, rather believe than know. Nietzsche was right, too. **NR**

classified marketplace

BOOKS

Book editing, critiquing. Harvard PhD. Specialties: Conservative, Christian. Contact: bkeditor@aol.com, 1-914-923-0066, or www.bkeditor.com

FOR SALE

got mug?

NATIONAL REVIEW

store.nationalreview.com

24 Acre Country Estate

Escape from the Urban Rat Race
Woods, Wildlife
Private, Tranquil
Nice Barn, Pond, and Fruit Trees
3 BR Main House w/3 Stone Fireplaces
2 BR 960 sq. ft. Guest House
25 miles N.W. of Harrisburg in
Conservative Central PA
Asking $389,000.00
Call Steve Peters, Jr.
Dugan Realty Group
717-567-3030

BEAT THE RUSH!
Be the first on your block with these forward-looking bumper stickers:

"IMPEACH OBAMA!"

"For the first time in my adult life I'm NOT really proud of my country"

"PALIN 2012"

1–$9, 2–$14, 3–$17 (specify)
CHECK TO: "Opt-Up llc" 6 University Drive, #206-247, Amherst, MA 01002

HELP WANTED

EASY WORK!
EXCELLENT PAY!
Assemble products from home.
For free information send SASE:
Home Assembly–NR , P.O. Box 450,
New Britain, CT 06050-0450

HOTELS

Use **BidonTravel.com** tips for the lowest prices on great hotels.

OF INTEREST TO ALL

ELDERBERRY PRESS SEEKS CONSERVATIVE MANUSCRIPTS FOR PUBLICATION, RADIO PROMOTION, NATIONAL DISTRIBUTION. SPEAK TO THE EDITOR. 541-459-6043

RESTAURANTS

TRIO Restaurant and Bar

A True Gem of Murray Hill with Live Piano, Great Food, and a Great Bartender!

167 East 33rd Street (bet. 3rd and Lex.)
New York, NY • 212-685-1001

Call for reservations or e-mail Brian Carter
at briancarter@mac.com
www.trionyc.com

SPECIAL INTEREST

Please help us keep
Industrial Wind Turbines out of
the National Forest in Vermont.

Save Vermont Ridgelines
P.O. Box 722
Wilmington, VT 05363
www.clearskyvt.org

TRAVEL

AIR BROOK LIMOUSINE
Nationwide Limousine Service
1-800-800-1990

store.nationalreview.com

shop!

CLASSIFIED MARKETPLACE INFORMATION

CALL: Kevin Longstreet, 212-679-7330.

Now Get the Official Cap of the Conservative World Champs

NATIONAL REVIEW

Featuring a stylish NR logo, this Navy Blue beaut is crafted of space-agey DuPont "CoolMax" fabric which pulls sweat away from your noggin, keeping you dry and comfy! It costs just $15.95, and you'll flip your lid over this: Buy 2, get the third cap **FREE**!

Get the Official NR Baseball Cap

Send me ______ of these great caps (only $15.95 each, including shipping, and I get one FREE if I buy 2!) to:

Name ______________________

Address ______________________

City ______________________

State ____________ ZIP ____________

________ NUMBER OF CAPS

PAYMENT METHOD

☐ Check enclosed (make payable to "National Review")

Bill to: ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa

Acct. No. ______________________

Expir. Date ______________________

Signature ______________________

Total payment $ ____________

N.Y. State residents must include sales tax.

NATIONAL REVIEW

215 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016

happy warrior

MARK STEYN

Dimpled Ruin

‘Luxury is surely the bane of a nation: Luxury! which enervates both soul and body, by opening a thousand new sources of enjoyment, opens, also, a thousand new sources of contention and want: Luxury! which renders a people weak at home, and accessible to bribery, corruption, and force from abroad . . .”

Who said that?

Well, actually, I did, late in the evening of November 4.

But apparently I wasn’t the first. Colonel Manly uttered those words 221 years ago in *The Contrast*, the first American play—that’s to say, the first to be written and professionally produced here. It was the work of Royall Tyler (later chief justice of Vermont), and the “contrast” of the title is that between America and Europe, as represented by the manly Colonel Manly, bluff, straight-talking veteran of the Revolutionary War, and the vain, posturing fop Mr. Dimple, who affects “the polish of Europe.” “Believe me, Colonel,” says Mr. Dimple, “when you shall have seen the brilliant exhibitions of Europe, you will learn to despise the amusements of this country as much as I do.”

“I do not wish to see them,” replies the colonel, “for I can never esteem that knowledge valuable, which tends to give me a distaste for my native country.”

The Contrast was staged in 1787. Your shrewder apocalyptic doom-monger is always mindful of the wise words of Adam Smith, in 1776: “There is a deal of ruin in a nation.” But eleven years’ worth? You don’t have to be as manly as Manly to fear for a republic fallen into softness, decadence, and sloth.

Anyway, here we are a couple of centuries on, in a land less Manly, where even the chads are Dimpled. One must discern from the, ah, unfortunate events of the other Tuesday night that a majority of people now prefer “the brilliant exhibitions of Europe” (“free” health care, federally funded daycare, nanny-state security, big-government poseur environmentalism, deference to transnational elites) over “the amusements of this country” (self-reliance, civic virtue, individual liberty, small government of limited powers leased ever more sparingly from town to state to the federal capital). Even conservative popinjays affect “the polish of Europe,” while the last non-fop in the GOP, Sarah Palin, alas, does not. The Right’s great thinkers, declared David Brooks in the *New York Times*, “tend to be intrigued” by David Cameron, the modish British Tory leader.

There may be a deal of ruin in a nation, but in the end ruin is the natural condition of the nation-state: Three of the five permanent members of the Security Council have endured revolutionary upheaval and/or constitutional collapse since their “permanency” was established by the U.N. in 1945. Four of the G7 major economic powers have constitutions dating back barely half a century. And, even if you escape (as most nations do not) coups, invasions, civil wars, occupations, there arrives the moment when ruin comes to close the deal. The “deal of ruin”—incremental decay—is seductive. In some ways, the most pleasant place to live is a state in gradual decline. You have the accumulated inheritance of a dynamic past to smooth the genteel downward slide. Much of Europe feels like that: You sit at a sidewalk cafй and watch the world go unhurriedly by. Life is good, work is undemanding, vacation’s coming up, war has been abolished. Somewhere beyond the horizon is a seething Muslim ghetto of 50 percent youth unemployment, whence the men swagger forth at sundown to torch the Renaults and Citroлns of the infidels. But not in your arrondissement. And not even on the Friday-afternoon drive to your country place. What’s to worry about?

This is not 1976, but 1932—at minimum.

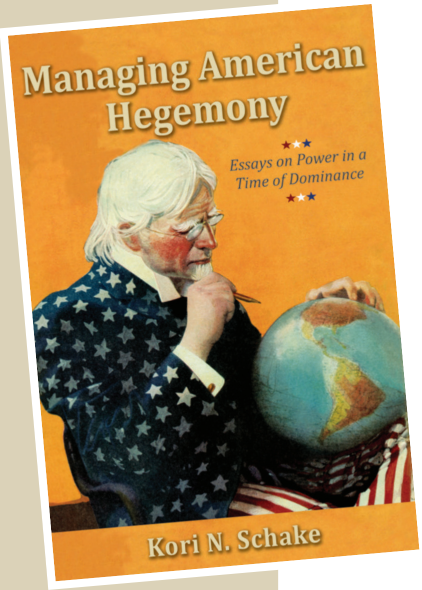
“The contrast” today is not between America and Europe, but between the slightly-more-than-half of America at ease with the prospect of a Europeanized future and the considerably-less-than-half of America for whom our differences with Europe—the First Amendment, the Second Amendment, non-confiscatory taxation, a society that prizes individual opportunity over state protection—were a big part of the American success story.

If you’re a relaxed conservative, this is 1976. Let Obama & Co. have their head and screw up, and we’ll be back in two or four years. But in two or four years there’ll be even more ACORN registrations, even more foreign campaign contributions, large numbers of amnestied illegals with de facto if not quite de jure voting rights, a new Unfairness Doctrine that consolidates Democratic dominance of the dinosaur media and banishes much of the rest. If the 2012 election is a rerun of, say, 2004—an attempt to restore the big fat red-state “L” sweeping down the Rockies and east to the Atlantic that comes down to a few thousand votes in Ohio—Republicans will lose. If it’s a 50/50 nation, the Dems will have the edge when it comes to pushing up to 50.1—as (at the time of writing) the Al Franken machine (of all unlikely phrases) is doing so cheerfully in Minnesota.

And beyond the operational upper hand is the psychological advantage: The push to socialized health care, the “spreading” of wealth that turns responsible citizens into grateful beneficiaries of government largesse, the remorseless propagandization of a school system all but entirely hostile to the heroic national narrative, a cumulative ratchet effect that “enervates both soul and body” and that the Republican leadership finds easier to accommodate than resist. Conservatives need a bigger picture than GOTV. This is not 1976, but 1932—at minimum.

There is a deal of ruin in a nation, but even in America supplies are not limitless.

But hey, I hate to be the Gloomy Gus round here. The good news is that, once King Barack’s lowered the oceans, there may be one or two new atolls popping up with non-confiscatory tax rates, a minimal regulatory regime, and the spirit of liberty. For as long at it lasts. **NR**


Managing American Hegemony
Essays on Power in a Time of Dominance
Kori N. Schake

New from Hoover Press

Managing American Hegemony
Essays on Power in a Time of Dominance
BY KORI N. SCHAKE

Schake examines key questions about the United States' position of power in the world, including Why is the United States' power so threatening? Is it sustainable? Does military force still matter? How can we revise current practices to reduce the U.S. cost of managing the system? What accounts for the United States' stunning success in the round of globalization that swept across the international order at the end of the twentieth century? The author also offers suggestions on which issues the next president should focus on to build an even stronger foundation of U.S. power.

She concludes that the United States has succeeded internationally for reasons deeply rooted in the political culture of the country, namely, tolerance of risk and failure, veneration of individual initiative, encouragement of immigration, fewer constraints on social and economic mobility than most other countries, and—critically—a malleable, absorptive definition of itself.

Kori N. Schake is senior policy adviser to the McCain campaign. She is on leave from being a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and the Distinguished Professor of International Security Studies at the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York.

December 2008, 208 pages
ISBN: 978-0-8179-4901-3 $25.00, cloth
ISBN: 978-0-8179-4902-0 $15.00, paper

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

To order, call 800.935.2882 or visit www.hoover.org

HOOVER INSTITUTION

. . . ideas defining a free society

STANFORD UNIVERSITY, Stanford California 94305-6010 Toll-free: 877.466.8374 Fax: 650.723.1687 info@hoover.stanford.edu www.hoover.org

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Offshore.
Onshore.
To be sure.

To secure America's energy future, we need all energy options. That means investing in alternatives, while at the same time discovering new U.S. oil and gas resources from new places offshore and onshore. As the largest oil and gas producer in the U.S., BP is providing more energy, safely and cleanly. We also own and operate the largest fully integrated solar plant in the U.S. Because energy security is something we should all be sure of. Learn more about America's most diverse energy portfolio at bp.com/us.

bp

beyond petroleum®

© 2008 BP Products North America Inc.